Texan rides off with the title

David Davise

USTIN LEONARD, with a merciless display of precision putting, started five strokes behind Jesper Parnevik and beat the Swede by three to win the 126th Open Championship at Royal Troon last Sunday.

The least-heralded American of modern times --- his amateur career was sandwiched between those of Phil Mickelson and Tiger Woods produced a final-round 65 for a total of 272, 12 under par, to become the third successive player from his country to carry off the claret jug.

After accepting the trophy Leonard broke down during his speech as he tried to thank his famly and friends. When he recovered he said: "They're here with me in spirit, that's all that matters."

Parnevik and Darren Clarke tied for second after the Swede bogeyed the final hole. While that represented invaluable experience for the Northern Irishman, Parnevik was bitterly disappointed. Not only has he been runner-up in this championship before, in 1994; this second place is his fifth of the season.

The championship has rarely seen such putting as Leonard produced over the closing holes. He had only 25 all day and three successive singles at the 15th, 16th and 17th holes were vital. The American picked out his 18ft par putt at the 15th. 'That was the tournament

Stand for heartless roque

10 Neat figure - fruit intake is

responsible for it (9)

12 Withdrew labour (4)

a seaside resort (7)

appears questionable (7)

progress (3.4)

9 Deposit put on a casual lacket (5)

11 A cold diet's awfully out of place

14 Desert people struggle to make

6 Stick by Oriental (5)

right there," he said. "I didn't allow lesper any breathing space."

For some inexplicable reason, given that he is far from convention-ally handsome and not yet particularly rich, Leonard was selected by Cosmopolitan magazine as one of the 25 most eligible bachelors in the world last August. His response to questions on the subject has been an even blanker expression than usual and an intoned "next ques-

His birdies involved a similar lack of histrionics but Parnevik, Clarke and Woods provided fantastic theatre. Everyone knew Woods had to go for everything to have any chance of making up the eight shots he was behind Parnevik. A visit to a greenside bunker at the 1st left him a 15-facter for par which he fairly rammed home. There was a hum of excitement: the would-be hero had made a declamatory opening state-

For those who stayed by the 1st green there was more to come. Clarke took his driver, came within a few yards of driving the green, putted from 20 yards and again from 12 feet to secure his birdie. Parnevik, meanwhile, was on the up-slope of a bunker facing a shot which Peter Thomson, the five-time Open champion, thought the Swede would do well to get on the green. He almost holed it, tapping in from



Tastes good . . . Justin Leonard kisses the trophy

the next tee and watched his ball | soar on to South Bay beach, out of bounds. He needed a break to get back in the game and with his second to the 3rd he hit the pin, the ball finishing up four feet away for a seemingly certain birdie. Parnevik smiled, stood to his ball and stopped it closer by 12 inches.

This was great stuff and birdies should have gone on the card. But Clarke missed and the Swede moved to 12 under, four ahead of the field.

Ideally leaders, if they are to win, do not drop shots but Parnevik failed to carry the bunker 30 yards short of the 6th green. The ball finished so close to the face that he could only just get it out and a six was the result. A redeeming birdie was needed and the 7th, only 402 yards and downwind, looked an obvious place to get it. Half an hour earlier, Woods had

driven into the bunker here five

he sometimes does, harely at the hole and saw it made parst. He got that one in bar. was an anger welling on the pressed itself at the next let. mous Postage Stamp,

Woods has an occasion, ness with the short iron wildthe championship started is a dicted this hole might being

fall. It was — a triple-bogying Woods was, by now, and Parnevik to worry about bits the middle of the 7th farm: Swede's second was to 5 struck. It was going to finds back of the green but hith; fluttering at the top of the ball dropped, gift-wrapped to: under.

He needed every outed: he could get, for ahead learns producing some prodigious: The American had done uda earlier holes - on the long pitched to three feet until went even closer and on the second stopped five feet as ti birdies.

But from then on say. Leonard's escapology deidy (**) He dropped a shot at the Pere missed the green butate! he holed from 10 feet for E. after hitting a chip fat, at the life chipped dead after mist; green and at the 15th he sa:.

His second missed the leaving him 30 yards from fand in among the Cokecast He was allowed to place the entise a speciator had admoved it but even then his & ished 18 feet short. In wette, mutt again and up went his his in salute - the only emotion yards short of the green. He lowed himself until the pres-

TheGuardian Weekly

Week ending August 3, 1997

Middle East talks poised to restart

Julian Borger in Jerusalem

SRAELI and Palestinian negotiators announced on Monday that the peace implementation talks - frozen for the past four months - would resume within a week, after the Israeli government suspended a plan to build a new Jewish settlement in Arab East Jerusalem. Israeli officials hailed the announcement as a breakthrough, but

Erekat, was more cautious. For the thaw in relations to last. Mr Erekat said, the Israeli government would have to end construction work on all Jewish settlements

a senior Palestinian official, Saeb

in Palestinian areas. The Israeli foreign minister, David Levy, and the Palestinian planning minister. Nabil Sheath, met on Monday in Jerusalem and issued a joint statement saying that bilateral committees would restart work on resolving outstanding isstics from the Oslo peace accords. Co-ordination between the two sides security forces would also continue. "We are deciding to return to the

talks . . . out of a desire to restore mutual trust," Mr Levy said. Speaking for the Palestinian Authority. Mr Shaath said: "We feel that maybe if we exchange confidence-building measures, it will make it easier to tackle these diffi-

cult issues in a short time." The meeting appeared to be part of a concerted push towards breaking the impasse. The United States negotiator, Dennis Ross, is expected to return to the Middle East later this month with a new package

Talks broke down in March after work began on the Jewish settle-ment of Har Homa on a hill in the Arab sector of Jerusalem. Construction, which is still under way, ignited weeks of West Bank rioting. The granting of a building permit last week for another Jewish settlement in the densely populated Palestinian district of Ras al-Amud

official said.

on Har Homa. Until then, he said, the peace process forward - rather been agreed — could not take place.

Palestinian sources have suggested that Mr Ross may propose a six-month moratorium on construction work at Har Home. This would probably be acceptable as a starting point to the Palestinians, but it has so far been rejected by Israel's prime

A spokesman for Mr Netanyahu Har Homa doesn't belong in the Oslo equation. It's a construction project. It's not mentioned in the accords ... So I don't think there's a possibility of a freeze or ending o

Palestinians view the construc tion of settlements, which involve to pre-empt a final settlement.

Finance, page 19

threatened to kill the peace process

But the interior ministry said that the permit had been suspended until at least August 5, when an appeal is due to be heard against the

An Israeli foreign ministry official said the suspension of the set-tlement's permit had "helped create a different atmosphere" in Monday's meeting. He said the imminent arrival of the US special envoy had also played a part. "In the past, both sides have shown they prefer their own solutions to solutions being imposed from outside," the

However, Mr Erekat said that the Palestinians had so far received no undertaking that work would stop substantive talks aimed at moving than implementing what has already

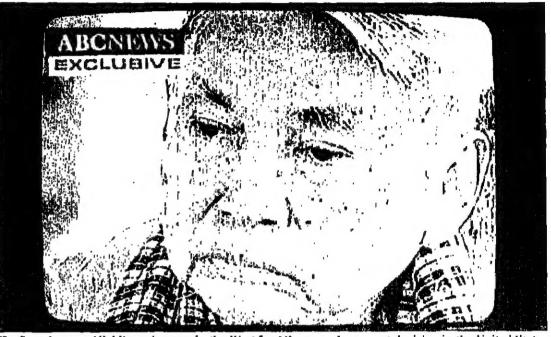
"The only indicator that the prace talks are back on track is for the government of Israel to stop its settlement policy. We hope the Americans will take into account this criterion when they come," he said.

minister, Binyamin Netanyahu.

David Bar-Illan, said: "We feel that construction."

the deployment of army garrisons to protect the settlers, as an attempt

The second of the control of the second of t



The first pictures of Pol Pot to be seen in the West for 18 years, shown on television in the United States on Monday night, as he answered to Khmer Rouge prosecutors in a show trial $(Full\ story, page\ 3)$

Indonesia arms sales to go ahead

Richard Norton-Taylor

URIOUS protests crupted this - week over the British government's decision to permit the sale of Hawk jets and armoured cars to Indonesia despite new guidelines restricting future weapons exports to countries with poor human rights

Announcing tougher arms controls, the Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, made clear that contracts signed before Labour's election victory would be honoured. "It is not practical to backdate these new criteria to apply to decisions on licences already taken by the previous admintration," he said.

Opponents of the decision charged the Government with failing the first test of its "ethical foreign policy".

Cynon Valley, chair of the parlia-

Liberal Democrat MPs demanding a renounced cars worth. 215 million. a ban on arms sales to Indonesia, a as well as faction water aumon. The said she was "extremely disappointed". Carmel Budiardio, of the Indonesian human rights compaign. Tanol, was "absolutely appalled". Air Cook insisted he had to strike

balance, "Britain is one of the largest arms exporters in the world," he said in a statement. "That leading position obligus us to take seriously the reputation of the arms trade. Success and responsibility go

In a separate move, the export of torture equipment, including electric shock batons, stun guns and shackles, was banned completely.

Officials refused to say how many of the 20,000 export licences issued in the past two years would not in future be approved, insisting that all applications would be considered

Indonesia, fighting a bloody war against Timorese Independence, will be able to buy \$260 million mentary human rights group, and will be able to buy \$260 million one of more than 100 Labour and worth of Hawk trainers, 50 Alvis

Government claims there is no evidence that the nireraft have been used against the rebels. Even under the new criteria Hawks could still be sold to the Jakarta regime, though the water cannon and armoured carwould not because of their "obvious application for internal repression".

Behind this week's decision lies the massive weight of Britain's defence manufacturing sector, with 90,000 jobs out of a total of 360,000 dependent solely on exports, acording to official figures.

Last year Britain had a 25 per cent slice of the world arms market, earning \$8.3 billion. Sales to Indonesia alone totalled \$710 million.

Pacific boils over Australian leak

Another day, another execution

Blueprint for Scots' self-rule

India recalls its bitter division

Children stunted by culture of fear

Balglum Dravnaji Nethorlands G 4 75 Norway Portugal FINBANC E300 France DM 4 DR 460 L 3,000

Cryptic crossword by Crispa over places offered (9) 3 Disappeared, having proved a

- without hesitation (7)
- 7 Risk a quarter accept (5) 8 The princess designated
- revealing (10) 14 Holding back with military
- 6 Dislike shown for a retrogressiv party in a note (9)
- 19 Relentlessly making a point concerning road work (3-4)
- 21 The colour's very good in the
- greenstuff after spring's end (5) 24 Some intruders are really offensive (4)

Last week's solution

BOWSHOT HALFCUT E I G I S O S A S O S A S H GENERALPRACTICE GENBRALPRACTICE
GCCEEEPOUSCUU
APHID TOOLMAKER
RESHOUSEGUP
YOSSARIAN BATTY
BREAD MARKTWAIN
USRESE BEST TOVE
GOREVIDAL EWING
INFERNALMACHINE
NIL DOTTO

- 20 Others take life easy (4)
- Right is not wise (9) 26 Open a page at random (5)
- 28 Realise this could mean arrest (s
- 15 Pen article for example backing 17 States small change in school
 - paid out (6) 2 Hangers-on mounting a strike

- 19 No, not it's new ideas that are
- be devious (10) 25 Being disrespectful about the
- 27 Some bars set one's teeth on

Down

1 Fleet for which the monerch

tea-break necessary (10) 4 Catch putting French in the

- gin (7) 5 They twist matched pairs
- 6 Face the cat! (4)
- touching craft (9) 13 Such an individual's proclivity i
- personnel helping (9)
- 18 A woman has to adjust her
- seat (7)
- 23 There's a certain craving for

Parnevik cruelly hunted down

Mike Seivey

T COMES to something when two of the hundreds of spectators massed around the 17th green at this most testing of links are under the impression that the 126th Open Championship is about to be won by England's

tight-head prop.

Justin Leonard, 25 years old, just might be the lowest profile golfer to win the title in decades - to British eyes anyway. This win, the £250,000 that goes with it and the untold millions that could follow will have raised

his rating a few points, though.

Despite the seemingly impregnable position that Jesper Parnevik had built, there was always a chance that an American would win here. They always seem to. Eight years ago it was Mark Calcavecchia who emerged from the pack. Before that came the Toms, Watson in 1982 and Weiskopf in 1973, and back at the start of the sixtles, Arnold Palmer, But Leonard? Everyone was guilty of underestimating him, but two wins in the States

spent learning in the winds that whistle through the Lone Star state, pointed to better things. To win he had to hunt down Parnevik and Darren Clarke and he did it so relentlessly on the front nine, and so stout-heartedly on the return, that it was almost cruel.

in the past two years, and years

White Parnevik was all L treading water in the fining out, Leonard was completed first nine in 31, a figure path tered all week. Then he dut on, rolling in putt afteroungeous putt with a displayof scrambling that almost dela

belief. There have been otherful rounds that can be called put Greg Norman's 64 at Rous George's four years ago, Sa extraordinary surge at lyto in 1988, Watson's Turnien head-to-head with Jack No in 1977 and Henry Cottools mous 65 at Sandwich their

its name to a golf ball. No new ball will be chis in honour of this round, by ever. It was too goddami ... sensible. Competent it make been, terrific even, but it all elevate Leonard to the public Parnevik, Clarke and evens else were cut to ribbons to

Leonard's putter. When it comes to the arround of a Major chample all putts are vital, but it is three hours and 25 minut his round, that Leonard

most telling putt of his lie.
He had long since over the board had confirmed that 15ft birdle putt he rolled 16th had brought him him Parnevik. The pressure to told on the Swede, whose he ended with two tired boos

Albright bluntly denounces Burma regime

Kelth B Richburg in Kuala Lumpur

"HE US secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, unashed a blistering attack on furma's military government, escribing it as a repressive. arepresentative regime that profits from illicit narcotics imflicking, and she challenged other southeast Asian countries o open a dialogue with Burma's

rassed political opposition. Ms Albright's remarks were elivered last Sunday during a closed-door meeting of 21 foreign ministers from major Asian and Western nations in the

Malaysian capital. Usually accustomed to a more low-key, talking sessions, some ministers were taken nback by the bluntness of Ms Albright's critiquo.

One southeast Asian diploma who set in on the session later described Ms Albright's remark as "really brutal". He said the Burmese foreign minister, U Ohn Gyaw, sat stony-faced throughout Ms Albright's denunciation

of his regime. The diplomat, however, said that many of the Asihn diplomats present, constrained by their traditional reluctance openly to criticise neighbours, privately

said they were glad to see Ms Albright take the lead and slow pace of democratisation in Burma and the junta's continuing repression.

The Asenn countries are not blind," snid the official, referring to the nine-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations, which sponsored last Sunday's forum — and admitted Burnia and Lags as Ascan . members last week. "They are not unaware that the people in [Burma] need to be shaken up a little bit, and they are quito

appy someone is doing it."

The military government in

Burma took power in 1988. The regime allowed multi-party elections two years later, but ignored the results after being trounced by the opposition National League for Democracy, led by Aung San Suu Kyi, who was then under house arrest.

Ms Albright initially had not intended to make the remarks verbally, said the US stute ieparlment spokcama Nicholas Burns, but Ma Albright was angered at a presentation by Ohn Gyaw in which he glossed over Burma's human rights record and presented a picture of the country that one US aide described as "Orwellian". - The Washington Post

Assan anxiety, page 15



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ALCOHOLD THE STATE OF THE STATE

The Week

HE US air force chief of

staff, General Ronald

Fogelman, has submitted his

resignation amid differences

over responsibility for security

apses that led to the deaths of

19 US airmen in a bombing in

A HONG KONG appeals court crushed a challenge to the

arrangements that have been in

place since China resumed sov-

reignty and dismissed a claim

ceased to be valid. It said it had

no power to rule on the legality

of the provisional legislature installed by China on July 1.

EXITEP Medjani was elected president of Albania after

following his party's defeat in the

N EARLY 100,000 US troops may have been exposed to

low levels of nerve gas as a re-

sult of the demolition of an Iraqi

ammunition depot after the Gulf

war, according to the Pentagon

RANCE is planning to reduce its military presence in

Africa by almost half in an his-

lwindling influence there.

toric foreign policy shift that ex-

perts point to as proof of Paris's

REBELLIOUS soldiers seized the commander of the

force at his Port Moresby home

and demanded amnesty for their

Papua New Guinea defence

role in a mutiny in March.

INE people were killed when a plane flown by a

at the Ostend airshow in

Belgium during a low-level

iordanian air force pilot crashed

AK Dong Tchoun, head of North Korea's diplomatic

country needed up to 2.4 mil-

ion tonnes in food aid to prevent

8

E,

0

mission to France, said his

its people from starving.

Le Monde, page 13

and the CIA.

Sali Berisha finally resigned

that pre-handover laws had

Saudi Arabia last year.

ONGRATULATIONS on George
Monbiot's devastating critique (Agribusiness uncowed by animal suffering, July 20). Sadly, not only are cows in Britain being pushed painfully to their limits, but they also undergo an annual trauma form of mastitis. Regular inspection when their newly born calves are taken away. Hell for both. As for the of cows in a dairy herd are made by male calves born in the dairy herd - it used to be the veal crates of France or the Netherlands. Since the beef export ban, it's been the Calf Processing Ald Scheme, which pays a goodly sum (of taxpayers' money) to have the calves slaughdiscarded. tered before they are three weeks old. Their meat can go to feed pets or maggots.

Joyce D'Silva, Compassion in World Farming, Petersfield, Hampshire

GEORGE Monbiot demonstrates a total misunderstanding and misinterpretation of statistics. He rightly points out that mastitis has been a significant problem in the British dairy herd, but fails to explain that it has reduced in recent years as a response to successful preventive medicine programmes. Similarly, lameness has been addressed. This problem can be virtually eradicated in farms through improvements in housing and man-

To say that these problems have been caused by the pursuit of higher milk production is untrue. Indeed, most cows respond to the better health and welfare afforded to them by preventive medicine programmes by producing more milk more efficiently

Richard Sibley (Veterinary surgeon), Tiverton, Devon

Subscription rates

SOME of George Monbiot's misleading article requires an answer, Somatic cells originate from infections of the cow's udder as a result of a group of bacterial pathogens which give rise to this

> stockmen, and, at the time of each milking, checks are made for the telltale clots indicative of clinical mastitis, which is usually identified well before milking. Any cow suffering from this infection must be milked separately and the milk Treatment is by the use of antibiotics, and strict regulations apply

dictating that the cow may not be milked for human use until three days have elapsed from the last antibiotic treatment. All samples of milk are regularly

tested for the level of somatic cells by the milk processors. The standard for somatic cells was tightened by a European Union directive relatively recently (Dr) Nigel Wade,

Dairymple, Scotland

WAS SO horrifled by the revelations in George Monbiot's article that I have cancelled my milk deliveries and will now make tea and porridge without this contaminated product (it also contains Lindane residue, 25 per cent, according to Britain's agriculture ministry).

I intend to disseminate the conents of the article widely among my friends and include it in the book any writing about behavioural effects from chemical additives in food and drink. Duncan Cross.

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Small scruples make big profits

INTERESTING to compare the materialist West's scruples about Beijing's repossession of historically Chinese Hong Kong with its decades of silence over the occupation of historically independent but economically insignificant Tibet.

As your editorial (July 6) rightly nderlines, the future of 6 million Hong Kongers is far more important than the exact hour of sunset on the British Empire. What we are also witnessing in the repossession of Hong Kong, though, is the final dissolution of the old capitalist/communist dichotomy, and the consolidation of a pan-materialist, pan-corporativist consensus. The next century's geopolitical struggle will be global corporativism vs cultural diversity and autonomy; as this becomes more clearly recognised, might Tibet become more newsworthy?

Oaxaca, Mexico

/INOTH Ramachandra's description (July 13) of Hong Kong being, for much of its history, "s gigantic sweat-shop with no labour unions, primitive labour laws and a censored media" would seem to me o be an accurate description of mainland China today. To whom should Britain apologise? Heaton Chapel, Stockport

JERE in Honiara, Chinese products are some of the shoddlest, shortest-lived rubbish that it has been my misfortune to buy. No surprise when you consider the factory and labour conditions under which they are produced for the nepotistical profit of the Communist Party

Can it be for this that we condone cultural genocide, torture and imprismment in Tibet and lack of human rights, political and religious freedom hroughout China? Not to mention totally unnecessary displacement of domestic manufacturing in other countries through offshore production in Chinese sweatshops. We don't need to follow the Clinton administration and myopic capitalists who want to trade with the devil in China be cause of the huge market opportuni

ties there or lower production costs If Burma deserves a boycott, as it surely does, then on moral and political grounds China deserves it in

apades. Christopher Chevalier, Honiara, Solomon Islands

Restrictions of uncivil servants

, SENIOR civil servants are Odoing their best to obstruct the mandate given to Britain's new government for a Freedom of Information Act (Information bill "on hold", July 20)? Hardly surprising, but clear proof - if still needed - of the need for cultural change inside the Civil Service which only a strong and effective Act will bring. Are not public servants required to facilitate govern-

mentactions made on our behalf? The present culture sustains an attitude of evasion and "economy with the truth" whenever something goes awry, often with the aim of shielding erring civil servants from exposure and discipline. Why should they not be held responsible, Melbourne, Australia

just like other professionals with equivalent positions in industry and other organisations which have an impact on the community?

Accountability, facilitated by an Act, is essential for ethically proper and efficient management of public affairs in this age of democracy. There can be no compromise, for the mandarins would win and the result would be a neutered Act.

How right was Thomas Jefferson. How much better their Freedom of Information Act serves the greater democracy of the United States. (Dr) CT Blood.

Woldingham, Surrey

Clinton's hot air on emissions

O PRESIDENT Clinton pledges O to mobilise United States public opinion behind legally binding global targets for reducing emissions (Clinton evades US gas pledge July 6). He will succeed in that as long as "global" is everywhere except the US. He knows that a tax on fuel will be his biggest vote loser, and therefore we can expect no developments in that area unless be

gets help from outside. Fortunately, it is not difficult to provide such help. The low fuel taxes in the US are more than just an environmental threat, but they make for a very unlevel playing field in international trade. Fuel taxation within European Union countries is generally much higher than in the US. This means that European goods are made uncompetitive relative to US goods.

Since the US has in the past never hesitated to slap on hefty tariffs against imported goods when they do not like the conditions under which they were manufactured, they have set a precedent that could be very useful, if applied against them, in solving Mr Clinton's problem. If he will not collect a fuel tax, let us collect it instead. Robert Bywater. Helsingborg, Sweden

No smoke could lead to fire

THE scariest article I've read in the Guardian Weekly is "Tobacco firms agree scillement" (lune 29). It's the portent that worries me, No nicotine by 2009 means something will have taken its place. I'm not sure what this thing will be but I suspect it will not be a benign healthy material, such as Hershey Bars, that a large widespread industry can profit from.

It's no good pretending that weeding out tobacco and blowing away the smoke will make the world a healthy place. I accept that smoksmoked for 35 years I can also say that I enjoyed it. If my world had been one where cigarettes were not available but a world, as now, where there is an abundance of "worse' alternatives, then I'm not at all sure

I would be here writing this letter. Short of gene manipulation, human weaknesses and diversity fortunately will persist for ever desplte efforts to eradicate them by well meaning zealots. Cigarettes are a curse; let's hope we're not making a big mistake by ostracising then together with those poor souls weak enough to fall under their allure. Michael Hutchison.

Briefly

REDERIC Chambon Glubs cial alliance aims to dalle.

ANC, June 22) makes the asid. ing statement that Roelf Meanly set about "creating South Mini first non-racial political come. horigins, history, constitution of manifest current practice of the ANC all give witness to it to racial character. While Man Meyer, Holomisa, etc, are suite to start another non-racial point

entity, they are not entitled to h

Francis Johnston. Bulawayo, Zimbabwe

claim to being the first.

IF I WERE a resident in the II and a British national to bot !! find it rather odd that mene numbers of money values oner. ing purely local activities at a pressed in "S" rather than in "Elone recent issue I was amuric read of a 32 cents increase is rates somewhere in England Th pound sterling is apparently be; edged out firmly but not gentle.

Though not nostalgic for the good old £ s d, florins and the crowns I used to juggle with htyouth, I take it that in the UK or can be both a europhobe mi

B Cordova. Saint-Cloud, France

I WAS not aware, until I read was article, "Priests serve no enter employer" (July 20), that Golds: bank account. Sheila Ross.

Brooklyn, New York, USA

THE United States has imposits choice of United Nation secretary-general and its choice new members of Nato against the united opposition of the Europee countries involved. Now the Eur pean Union has accepted the femation of the Bocing/McDour. Douglas juggernaut as a foil a compli, to the certain disadvants of Europe and so-called glob competition. Together with I success of McDonald's in the libel suit, it is very clear that the US drive for world domination very much on track. When the Europe wake up?

Le Douhet, France

WHEN the British Foreign See retary, Robin Cook, retark "the Europeans" (July 20) press ably he means "the other foreign the cook of the the c peans" besides the British. Head just say "all those who button" their jackets", and by this it be understood that it exclude British, who believe an overhale beer belly is a thing of beauty by Frank Nowikowski, Buenos Aires, Argentina

The Guardian

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Moi's foes join together in protest rally

Lucy Hannan in Nairobi

PPOSITION parties in Kenya managed to hold a legal and peaceful rally last weekend for the first time since reform campaigners started mass action in June. Reform advocates refused to apply for licence for the rally in Mombasa but the government issued a permit to neutralise the stand-off.

Small groups of government supporters carrying clubs were chased from the meeting, but government security forces - responsible for the bloody dispersal of previous ral Res with 11 deaths — were notably

Opposition leaders stirred up the crowd of several thousand by referring to President Daniel arap Moi as "Moi-butu" — an insulting reference to the deposed former Zairean resident Mobutu.

They demanded constitutional re forms to reduce the power of Mr Moi, who has been in office for 19

The official opposition leader Michael Wamalwa, said pressure on the government should increase "until President Moi cracks". Opposition leaders put on

mited and confident front in Monbasa for the first time since multiparty politics were introduced in 1991, although they avoided contentious issues such as whether to take part in forthcoming general elections. A growing camp says the polls should be boycotted or disrupted. James Orengo, the deputy leader of the opposition, who has pushed a rhetoric of battle since riots last month, said the reform movement should give President Moi a deadline of 30 days. He added: "I will be in the front row i

we have to take up arms." President Moi has regained round by promising dialogue with reformists and looks set to win the election. His recent promises to review contentious laws and set up a ommission for constitutional reform have increased divisions among the

Critica see President Moi's romises as a time-buying exercise. Wachira Maina, an economic analyst, said the president's priority was to have peaceful elections and get back into power". International condemnation of the brutal dispersal of unlicensed reform rallies led Britain and the International Monetary Fund to review aid.

Philip Willan in Rome

role in Italy's worst wartime atrocity,

blg trials for crimes against human-

ly during the second world war.

ending what may be one of the last

Former SS captain Erich Priebke,

aged 84, was given 15 years for his

role in the 1944 Ardeatine Caves

massacre, in which 335 Italians

were shot dead. Karl Hass, a former

SS major, also 84, was given 10

years and eight months for his part

in the massacre. The judge ordered

Rie release.

sands to hideous torture and handed execution in his purges, "that I court. thought he might die during the process," Mr Thayer reported.

Pol Pot walked on to the stage with the help of a bamboo cane. "You could see the anguish on his face as he was denounced by his former loyalists. He was close to tears," Mr Thayer, of the Hong Kong-based Far Eastern Economic Review, said.

Pol Pot stands accused before the world of causing the deaths of 2 million Cambodians by execution, overwork, starvation and disease in a four-year reign of terror. But even now he seems in no danger of falling into the hands of interna-

tional prosecutors. In the trial, Khmer Rouge leaders denounced Pol Pot and three commanders for the execution of his former security chief Son Sen In June, for "destroying national recon-ciliation" and for stealing party funds. Pol Pot's commanders, de

> wives of colleagues. crowd's participation was limited to sudden outbursts of carefully choreo-

The official presiding over the trial announced that Pol Pot and his henchmen had been sentenced to life imprisonment but, according to for the 69-year-old, who sent thou- Mr Thayer, said they would not be

ended in his acquittal and in tumult.

On that occasion, a year ago, the

military court ruled that there were

nitigating circumstances and that

that the crime was covered by the

Hundreds of people laid slege to

the courtroom until Giovanni Maria

Flick, the justice minister, an-

nounced that Pricbke was being

rearrested pending an extradition request from Germany. For Hass, who collaborated with

the CIA and Italy's secret service

After he was called as a witness at 'solution of compromise".

statute of limitations.

rate piece of political theatre, Cam-

bodia experts are convinced it spells the end of almost 40 years of Pol-Pot's Khmer Rouge leadership. It is not yet, however, the end of

the Khmer Rouge as a highly volatile player in Cambodia's power struggles. The rupture came in the ourse of talks with royalist leaders n Phnom Penh on the terms of a deal under which the Khmer Rouge would give up armed rebellion, recognise the constitution and enter politics in a broad front under the co-prime minister, Prince Norodom Ranaridd b.

In June it seemed Pol Pot would e allowed to escape Cambodia and go into exile. However, for reasons hat are not clear but may reflect resistance outside Cambodia, the irrangement collapsed. After he ordered the execution of Son Sen apparently for pursuing contacts with the second prime minister, Hun Sen — Pol Pot fled and was reportedly brought back, sick and a

Hun Sen dismissed the trial as " olitical game of the Khmer Rouge" Pol Pot, he said, "is still the leader of the Khmer Rouge forces". As Cambodia's now unrivalled political strongman, he has an interest

Hun Sen used the royalist negotiations with the Khmer Rouge as ustification for his overthrow of Prince Ranariddh last month.

the massacre but insisted, like

The prosecutor, Antonino In-

telisano, who also represented the

state in the first trial, sought a life

sentence for Priebke and 24 years

Priebke's lawyers argued that he

should not have been on trial be-

cause he had already been acquitted

of the crime. "A shot in the back of

the head is not cruel." Glosue Naso

imprisonment for Hass, but he de-

scribed the sentences as "just in all

orders.

respects".

HREE people were shot dead by soldiers in Kinshasi luring a protest by nearly 1,000 Priebke's trial in June 1996, he fell opponents of the ban by Presiand broke a hip while trying to flee dent Laurent Kabila on political from his hotel room via the balcony. activity, witnesses said. From his hospital bed a week later he admitted shooting two people in

EPUBLICANS in Congress aunounced tentative agreement for millions of families, students

ORA MAAR, a painter and photographer who was Pablo Picasso's mistress, has



German soldiers moving sandbags last week to shore up a dyke protecting Frankfurt-on-Oder from the ising flood waters. Thousands of troops battled with the elements as the river burst through flood barriers and drowned villages, forcing the evacuation of more than 10,000 people PHOTO, JOCHEN ECKER

Show trial of broken Pol Pot

Nick Cumming-Bruce in Bangkok and Ed Vuillamy in Washington

barely able to walk, Pol Pot, architect of Cambodia's holocaust, shuffled to his own trial by former loyalists of his Khmer Rouge movement a physically and spiritually broken man.

The first images of Pol Pot to be seen outside Cambodia for more than 18 years were broadcast on US

television on Monday. US journalist Nate Thayer came the first Westerner to see Pol Pot in almost two decades when Khmer Rouge contacts led him from the Thal border to the guerrillas' last major base of Anlong Veng in northern Cambodia.

He and a cameraman found and filmed the leader whose name is synonymous with genocide, now a risoner of his former followers and n the process of being purged in what Mr Thayer describes as "a classic 1960s Cultural Revolution style show trial".

Pol Pot sat silent but visibly an uished as a succession of speakers denounced him before a crowd of around 500 villagers in what looked like a jungle clearing. The tyrant had a faraway look in his eyes, appearing only vaguely aware of the proceedings.

"Crush, crush, crush Pol Pot and his clique," chanted the crowd. The trial proved so "traumatic"

N ITALIAN military tribunal the case of an 84-year-old man has a | a re-run of an earlier hearing which

community, said. The community

Rome's chief rabbi, Elio Toaff,

was less satisfied. "I am disap-

pointed that there has been no clear

condemnation of the Nazi ideology

that these people represented and

that is on the rise again in too many

Priebke and Hass admitted tak-

ing part in the massacre, ordered by Adolf Hitler as a reprisal for an Ital-

marched through central Rome.

parts of Europe," he said.

lost 75 people in the massacre.

Italy hands out sentences to ex-Nazis

sentenced two former Nazis to high symbolic significance," Tullis

prison sentences last week for their Zevi, a leader of Rome's Jewish

scribed as "drunk and corrupt", were also charged with raping the Witnesses in military fatigues took turns to burst forth passionate testimony on Pol Pot's guilt and thirst for torture and murder. The

graphed indignation.

"We must not forget that a 15-year sentence, reduced to five years, in from Argentina in 1994, the trial was

holding this line, analysts note.

on a plan to balance the US bud. get by 2002 while slashing taxes and investors.

died, aged 90.

10 years of each sentence to be com-muted, resulting in Hass's immedia. 33 South Tyrolean soldiers as they atterelesses. 33 South Tyrolean soldiers as they M OHAMMED Mandi Al-Jawahri, a renowned Iraqi poet, died in Damascus, aged 97. Drugs tarnish

Phil Gunson in Mexico Chr

A NEW drugs scandal interior senior officers in the linin

army has added to suspicions ite

the country's controversial polard

using the armed forces to light;

The news magazine Processis

week published confidental de

ments revealing alleged

between at least six former E

ranking officers and drugs and

The defence ministry sid i

communique that two officers

been charged with copying at

computer disk the secret to

ments the magazine had and duced. The ministry added that

did not "pre-judge (the) variq's

drugs war.

row in Pacific

Christopher Zinn in Sydney

pelent and belligerent drunkards.

Two senior New Zealand minis-

ters have lashed the Canberra bu-

reascrats who drafted the scathing

internal report for "Australian eyes

only", marking them as "dingbat

Howard, currently in hospital with

pneumonia, has been warned to ex-

nect anger at the meeting of the 16-

nation South Pacific Forum in

September. The Fijian prime minister, Siliveni Rabuka, said the paper was a "show of disrespect", adding that

would almost certainly be aired at

Reuter carried parts of the top-

secret 96-page briefing paper last

month. It had been picked up by

hance by one of its journalists at an

conomic conference in Queens

The paper, prepared for Aus-

tralia's treasurer, Peter Costello,

called many Pacific politicians cor-

rupt, mainly from taking bribes for

he gathering.

galahs" and "a pack of mongrels". Australia's prime minister, John

Rwanda governor 'led genocide'

Chris McGreal in Kigali

WANDA'S parliament is demanding that the government arrest a prominent Hutu politician who was appointed as a regional governor despite his inclusion on the administration's own list of suspects wanted for the 1994 genocide of Tutsis.

Boniface Rucagu is 120th on the list of about 2,000 people who could face the death penalty for organis-ing the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of victims. President Pasteur Bizimungu says Mr Rucagu's inclusion is a mistake.

Survivors of the genocide are furious. They say there is ample evigovernor of Ruhengeri province two | stop it," he said.

Deus Kagiraneza, one of a number of genocide survivors who are now MPs, submitted a bill demanding Mr Rucagu's removal from office and arrest. "His appointment was a blunder," he said. "The survivors are angry because it is underrating the genocide. The position of the president is that someone is innocent until proven guilty. But that isn't good enough."

Before the genocide, Mr Rucagu was an MP in the extremist ruling party, the MRND, which laid the ground for the killing. He claims to

have opposed the slaughter. There is no evidence I did anydence that Mr Rucagu not only took part in but helped plan the mass to kill. I was opposed to killing. I put murder, and that he was appointed | my own life in danger to try and

Mr Rucagu's case is undermined by his virulently anti-Tutsi writings in the Hutu extremist newspaper Kangura, which predicted the genocide. He was a founding shareholder of Radio Mille Collines, which broadcast some of the most uflammatory exhortations to kill.

The interior minister, Sheikh Karim Harerimana, told MPs: There is no concrete evidence Rucagu committed genocide. We believe he was included on the list by mistake. But if evidence against Rucagu were to be provided he will be dealt with like other killers."

Among those prepared to testify against Mr Rucagu ia a former governor of Gitarama province who says he saw him kill six people. An MP is prepared to swear he saw him give a speech in Gitarama urging people to murder Tutais,

Mexican Mr Rucagu has been arrested, uestioned and freed three times in army's image he past two years.

His final release came after his wife produced letters apparently written to the president of the former regime pleading for an end to the genocide. Mr Kagiraneza maintains the letters are fake.

 A Belgian accused of making broadcasts inciting violence against Tutals has been arrested in Kenya in connection with the genocide in

Georges Ruggiu, formerly a reporter on the state-owned radio station Radio Mille Collines, is alleged to have made many broadcasts in French inciting violence and hatred against Tutsis, moderate Hutus and Belgian nationals, the United Nations tribunal for Rwanda said last week.

> the information passed to Provi The documents are believely) the result of an inquiry that be in February after the countries. drugs tsar, General Jesus Guion: Rebollo, was arrested and daze with taking million-dollar ldfrom the since deceased health juarez cartel, Amado (z.: Fuentes.

> The documents include intertion dating back to 1991, st: was apparently revealed his large number of military prese in Guadalajara — the 2000 commanded by Gen Guidaswere involved with the drug by

There are also intriguing? logging. Others were said to be ences to an offer supposed a. iemperamentally volatile" and by Carrillo to the government boastful and vain". which he proposed behaving Sir Geoffrey Henry, prime minis businessman, not a criminal 50 ter of the Cook Islands and host of change for being allowed to be the next forum summit, was called a half his properties and stay c. heavy drinker who had brought his drugs business. At least five colonels and ! country to the verge of bankruptcy

Sir Geoffrey said he was "surprised cently retired general are meric rewildered and upset". in the Proceso report. But 🕩 🗈 The formerly phosphate-rich is fence ministry says in the out land of Nauru and the Solomon nique: "None of those referred: Islands were also described as presently carrying out any amand duties in the Mexican and being close to collapse. Nauru's president, Kinza Clodumar, called the document "most insulting and However, it adds: This ! alone, 34 military or ex-military

> Australia has sent envoys to reassure its neighbours that the comments came from junior officials

Mr Costello has admitted the report was "very deeply insulting" but refused to apologise formally for it. The Australian foreign minister, Alexander Downer, said the controversy would pass without lasting damage. But Australia's high commissioner to New Zoole 1997. nissioner to New Zealand, Geoffrey Miller, said the ramifications of the

eak were potentially serious.
"I do not think this is the sort of hing that people will easily forget, and we will have to put up with the consequences of it for quite some

The briefing said New Zealand's deputy prime minister. Wins Peters, had a reputation for "laziness, inattention to detail and erratic behaviour". But New Zcaland's prime minister, Jim Bolger, said last week: "New Zealand and Australia have a relationship that is far too strong . . , to be dam aged because some officials wrote ome nonsense."

However, the political fallout will compromise Australian attempts to push economic reform, agendas in

A spokesman for the government of the Solomon Islands said: "It. makes South Pacific countries suspicious of what Australia gets up 19."

US failed radioactive alert Australian report causes

Christopher Reed In Los Angeles

CHEMICAL explosion at Hanford Nuclear Reserva-tion in California, the west-URY over a leaked Australian ern hemisphere's most polluted government briefing paper radioactive site, released plutonium which painted a damning picture of and other toxins while emergency other South Pacific countries and responses descended into chaos, a United States government report their leaders shows no sign of abat-ing. The document labelled some has disclosed. regional politicians corrupt, incom-

Amid virtual media silence, the explosion took place on May 14 in a 100-gallon storage tank at the plutonium-processing facility, where chemicals had been improperly placed. The explosion blasted open he roof, releasing a toxic plume

The new offshore

account

through the chimney that spilled the fenced-off 362,000-acre site that plutonium-contaminated water out has become a nightmare of leaking side the plant.

As emergency services broke down, workers were twice forced to walk through the toxic cloud and were later denied hospital treatment. Confused plant managers did not declare an alert for two hours, the plume was not tracked and some emergency services outside the plant were never notified.

Hanford, by the Columbia river in the Pacific northwest, produced the plutonium for the bomb dropped on Nagasaki in the second world war, and for many later nuclear weapons tests. Its 11 nuclear reactors now stand idle along the riverbank inside

has become a nightmare of leaking

People who live in the area have a disproportionately high rate of hyper-thyroid conditions and cancers, but legal action to decide on compensation has yet to be concluded. The May incident will increase anxiety about Hanford's radioactive "time bomb" of pollution and dangerous conditions.

The report was by the department of energy, assisted by the Fluor Daniel Hanford company that manages the site. It is extraordinarily frank in admitting errors.

and we failed in some key areas of 1 taking "unprovoked" action.

responsibility," Lloyd Piper, the actng manager at Hanford, said. Fluor was criticised for failing to

conduct four-weekly inspections of the tank for six months before the blast. A company official said standards would improve, but a spokesman for a group representing workers who exposed inadequacies e any more prepared next year."

 Recently declassified documents from the 1960s reveal that Washington, alarmed by Mao Zedong's drive to build a nuclear bomb, considered sending commandos and even heavy bombers to obliterate Beijing's atomic ambitions. An internal debute under President Kennedy and Presi dent Johnson reviewed a wide range of pre-emptive military strikes but it The findings are downright ugly | 1964 a decision was made against

Vatican 'linked to Nazi gold'

Ed Vuillamy in Washington

RESIDENT Clinton announced last week that the United States treasury department has launched an investigation into claims that the Vaticar received money looted from Jewish and other victims of the Nazis during the second world

The Vatican vehemently denied the claims.

'The treasury department has assured me that they have historings combing the records and we will reveal whatever information we have and let the facts take us where they lead us," Mr Clinton said.

The White House statement followed the disclosure of a US Intelligence report from 1946, which records that the British authorities impounded and kept gold coins worth 150 million Swiss francs looted from murdered Jews and Serbs by the pro-Nazi regime that ruled Croatia from 1941 to 1945.

The sum was part of 350 million francs worth of gold looted by the Croats. The rest, the report says, was given for safe-keeping to the Vatican, which may have set up a "smoke-

The Vatican denied that it had

The consignment intercepted by the British was seized on the Austro-Swiss border, apparently in autumn 1946. There is no indication of where the treasure went after it was impounded by the border.

Adolf Hitler. The Ustasha set up a concentration camp at Jasenovac for Jews, Serbs, Gypsies and dissident Croats. assets, the Swiss banks last week published a list of 2,000

Comment, page 12 Washington Post, page 16

papers around the world.

screen", pretending to forward the gold to Spain and Argentina while really keeping it.

been a "pipeline" for storing and snruggling Nazi gold.

the British authorities patrolling The gold was looted by the

Ustasha government of Ante

Pavelic, a fascist ruler loyal to

 In an attempt to help relatives of Nazi victims lay claim to their dormant accounts in news-

Versace killer commits suicide

Ed Vulliamy in Washington and John Hooper in Rome

"THE reign of terror that was brought upon us by Andrew Cunanan is over," announced the Miami Beach police chief, Richard Barreto, last week, closing one of the the biggest manhunts in the United States.

Police marksmen had stormed a houseboat and found the body of Gianni Versace's murderer. Cunanpolice said.

One FBI officer described Mr | with police files. Barreto's statement as "the highestranking sigh of relief I've heard for a

The corpse of the US's most wanted man was found by Swat agents through a dense haze of tear The discovery of the body followed a five-hour siege after a shot was fired from within the houseboat at a caretaker who went to investigate after spotting a stranger. No shots were fired by police,

and tear gas to make way for agents to burst into the houseboat. Police aid it had taken some time to find the body because of fumes inside

A pistol found beside Cunanan's lifeless hand was later confirmed as the .40 calibre handgun that killed Versace and two of Cunanan's other victims. Police said there was no

The gunshot to the head made sources said, but confirmation came after a thumbprint was matched

palazzo.

Mr Barreto said he was not surprised that his querry had moved only a short distance from the crime scene. "He made it 40 blocks from the original scene. There was terrific pressure on him from law enforcement, media exposure and public vigilance. I think he was a | and the other cities it won. Opposidesperate person; it was very diffi- tion parties are still considering only a salvo of concussion grenades | cult for him to move about."

Jonathan Steele suicide note. ASKING in his new role as Yugoslav president, Slobodan

identification difficult, police

The manhunt ended just 5km from where it had begun on the steps of the murdered designer's

An Orthodox Church priest in Sevastopol, Ukraine, baptises a new believer in the Black Sea PHOTOGRAPH: SERGEI SVETUTSKY Milosevic vows to play fair at polls

Milosevic last week promised oppo-

sition politicians that he would guar-

antee free and fair conditions for the

protests, which forced Mr Milosevic

to concede his party's defeat in

local polls, the Serbian strongman

has made a remarkable comeback

and remains a key power-broker in

to make a decisive mark in Belgrade

AVERAGE TO SERVICE TO

the Balkans.

Despite last winter's street

Sentember elections in Serbia.

Milosevic sidestepped a constitu- party said after meeting Mr. tional bar on running for a third sevic that he had taken a restriction as Serbian president by be stand" on the opposition's call. coming Yugoslav federal president. free elections.

stituent republics split off in 1991.

Mr Milosevic has ensured that the ineffectual former Yugoslav head of state, Zoran Lilic, was endorsed as the Socialist party's candidate for the Serbian presidency, allowing their political relationship

The Zajedno (Together) coalito remain the same although their tion, which led the protests, has yet titles have been switched. . The elections will be for a new | Serbian parliament, and for the 18 of the accused were in presidency. Vuk Draskovic of the and three at large. No trial design. whether to boycott the poll. Mr | pro-monarchist Serbian Renewal | been set.

sonnel have been turned over he

itary or civilian judicial author on suspicion of involvement is:

collaboration with, drug-traffict The armed forces have hot

creasingly drafted into the &

fight after a high incidence day

related corruption was foundate

Mexican police. Since 1991 t

branch of the attorney good

office devoted to the drugs web

control over the process, internow that the tiny republic of Montenegro is the only component apart | tional observers, equal sort from Serbla. The four other con- state-run media, and the reopt of scores of local radio which have been closed this post.

Despite the assurance, the

cial Tanjug news agency his radio and television stations Serbian authorities in lie charged 21 ethnic Albanian belonging to a "hostile terrors" sociation". Tanjug reported li

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Liberia's hollow democracy

Death loses its sting in execution-happy US

WASHINGTON DIARY Patrick Brogan

AMES BALDWIN said, "Violence is as American as apple pie." So, nowadays, are executions. And, like apple pie, they are

Joseph O'Dell was an exception secause a group of Italian journalists championed his cause and incited the Pope and Mother Teresa, among many others, to plead for his life. When the State of Virginia put him to death last week, he made the papers (though not the television

Usually such events pass unnoticed in the United States, save for a single paragraph in the news roundup of the local paper. There have been 44 executions in the US this year, 24 of them in Texas. It is hard to stay interested. What is more, executions now are pretty pedestrian affairs. The less drama, the better, states have discovered.

Witnesses are brought into a room with a window into the execution chamber. They see a man on a stretcher, covered with a sheet, but all that is visible of him is his head and his arm with intravenous tubes hanging from it. They do not watch him being brought into the room. see him strapped to the stretcher, or witness the needles inserted into

Nothing apparently happens. He does not move, and after six minutes, the chief warden draws the curtain closed. The angel of death passes, but there is no way of

Thirty-two states use lethal injection as their standard method of execution. A few still use the electric chair or the gas chamber (there have been two hangings and one ex- tial election, Bill Clinton, then gov-

Florida, an enthusiastic propo- campaign trail so that he could nent of the death penalty, suspended all executions when the electric chair malfunctioned six months ago and a convict's head caught fire. A prison inquiry concluded that the prisoner had not suffered and that there was nothing wrong with "Old Sparky", as the chair is known. However, the odds are that public opinion will insist on

The pace of execution is picking up. Congress and the courts have eliminated many of the legal delays that have kept men on death row for decades. Prisoners can no longer appeal on the grounds of habeas corpus, and thus force appeals courts to examine new evidence, or

Many courts, including a majority on the Supreme Court, want to hurry things along. So do states, for economic reasons. Because of the lengthy appeals procedure, it costs far more to execute a man than to keep him in prison for life. Reducing legal safeguards against mistakes

O'Dell claimed that he was innocent, and that a new technique of blood testing, invented since his conviction, would prove it. The courts, and the governor of Virginia, George Allen, rejected that

Washington, attended by two members of the Supreme Court. Shortly after we all sat down, waiters whispered in their ears, and the two jus-tices left their tables and vanished into a corridor where there was a

It was a conference call of the full court, to decide a last-minute appeal. They returned to the dinner unmoved. The appeal had been rejected, and the man was executed before dessert was served. I asked one of them how that affected his appetite. He replied that, like doctors, judges had to separate their humanity from their professional iudgment. If they didn't, they could never sentence anyone to jail, let

Politicians love the death penalty. proves that they are "tough on crime". During the 1992 presidenecution by firing squad in the past ernor of Arkansas, made a point of 20 years). refuse to commute a death sentence. The convicted man, who had a very low IQ, had blown away half his brains during the course of an attempted suicide. He had no understanding of what was happening to him: just before he was led away to be executed, he saved half his last breakfast, to eat later.



Italians gather for a vigil in Rome last week as the convicted killer and rupist Joseph O'Dell was shulk be executed in Virginia

of men executed for crimes they did not commit. They point out that, who convinces the jury. It is a sys- found near her body. since 1973, more than 65 people tences were subsequently released when their convictions were overturned. They were saved by the length of the appeals process; under the new dispensation, many of them

would have been executed. They also point to the grotesque incompetence of public defenders allocated to indigent defendants. One notorious 73-year-old lawyer in Texas is routinely given capital cases — and sleeps peacefully through the trial. The Texas court of appeal has ruled that this does not mean that the defendant is not properly represented: the US Constitution provides that a defendant must have a lawyer but says nothing

about him staying awake. A study in Philadelphia in 1992 found the quality of lawyers in capi-tal cases so bad "that even officials in charge of the system said they would not want to be represented in Traffic Court by some of the people appointed to defend poor people accused of murder".

The US system of justice is based on the adversarial system. Two Opponents of the death penalty | lawyers represent both sides of a contend that there are many cases | case to the best of their ability -

tem inherited from English common law and fills European lawyers with horror: under Roman law, the court's duty is to find the truth, not to supervise a gladiatorial contest between two lawyers,

Because most defendants in US courts are poor, they are often represented by lawyers who care nothing whatever for their clients. This may partly explain the huge disparity in death sentences between blacks and whites; almost as many blacks as whites are executed, even though they are outnumbered 10 to the hundreds of violent and selfone by whites in the general popu-

HESE ARE all good arguments against the death penalty. But dichard opponents also need to face the question of whether capital punishment is ever appropriate. There was some doubt about O'Dell, though he was undoubtedly a violent criminal.

The crime for which O'Dell was executed was the rape and murder of a young woman. According to the evidence presented to the court, he was in the same bar as her, left just after she did, and reappeared later covered in blood. Tyre tracks, simi-

and the United States, whose push FRICA'S oldest republic had free and fair elections for the for early elections was seen by many observers as potentially dangerous. Predictably, Mr Taylor's rivals are

first time in its 150-year history last month. Paradoxically, but crying foul. Mr Taylor did not, hownot surprisingly, Charles Taylor, the ever, need to rig the elections. A powerful demagogue and propagan-dist, with enough ill-gotten wealth to shower voters with food and cash, Mr Taylor is held in fear and awe by man who eight years ago plunged Liberia into the bloodiest and most destructive civil war in West Africa since Biafra's attempt to secede from Nigeria, won a landslide vica largely illiterate population. He ory in the presidential contest. tolds the key to Liberia's destruction and, fronically, to its reconstruction, Mr Taylor, the self-styled freedom

ighter-cum-megalomaniae warlord, finally gained the legitimacy he craved through the ballot box. He

has subsequently been embraced not other former factional leaders or only by the majority of Liberians but civilian presidential aspirants were civilian presidential aspirants were also by his erstwhile foes, Nigeria seen as offering a viable alternative to Mr Taylor. Candidates' promises of peace and prosperity only thinly veiled the combination of greed, arrogance and crass hypocrisy that has accelerated Liberia's socioeconomic decline in the past two decades. For many, Mr Taylor was a pragmatic choice — a choice based not on the lesser of evils but on the

Liberia ungovernable. in spite of his victory, hopes of lasting peace in Liberia seem a pipe After nearly eight years of war, dream. Factional and ethnic tenmost Liberians are more interested in stability than in democracy. No 1 sions continue across the country;

reasonable assumption that if he

lost the elections he would make

likely to accept Mr Taylor as president: Mr Taylor has a tendency to brutality and despotism; and only about half of the estimated 60,000 fighters in the country's civil war have been disarmed by Ecomog, the West African peacekeeping force.

So why did the international com munity — particularly the United States and Nigeria — insist that elections were the panacea for Liberia's ills? Each has an interest in being seen as a champion of democracy in Liberia, Nigeria, which has led Ecomog in Liberia since 1990, wants stability among its neigh-bours, and its head of state, General Sani Abacha, wants international kudos in the run-up to next year's presidential elections. Some sceptical observers believe Ecomog, which has pledged to stay in Liberia

the losers in the election are un- | for at least six months after the elections, has cut lucrative deals with Mr Taylor for continued access to resources including timber, rubber and diamonds. The resources were systematically plundered by all sides in the civil war, including Ecomog.

The US has various geo-political interests in Liberia — including the world's largest rubber plantation and an Africa-wide communications network. The appearance of having achieved democracy in Liberia, no matter how illusory, may help comensate for débacles such as the reacekeeping effort in Somalia.

Yet there are enough examples -Bosnia, Cambodia and Sierra Leone of the potentially disastrous consequences of holding elections without addressing the causes of conflict,

UN accuses Unita rebels of stoking war

Mark Tran in New York

GUARDIAN WEEKLY August 3 1997

COMMENT

Claudia McElroy

THE United Nations last week strongly condemned Unita, the former rebel movement in Angola, for failing to live up to it: peace settlement, as fear mounts that the country will return to

In a statement more pointedly critical of Unita than any before the Security Council expressed deep concern at the group's efforts to revive its fighting force.

Under the settlement, monilored by the UN, the former rebel army led by Jonas Savimbi was required over the past two years to lay down its arms and integrate its troops into the Ingolan national army.

Some integration has occurred, but at a much slower pace than nvisaged, and diplomats believe Unita is backtracking by regroupng its demobilised troops in ebel-controlled areas.

"There is a worry that Angola is about to go the same way as Cambodia," a diplomat said last week after the council was priefed on the situation in Ingola by Bernard Miyet, the under-secretary general for peacekeeping. The \$3 billion UN effort in Cambodia is thought to be seriously jeopardised by Hun Sen's coup.

Angole has one of the UN's olggest peacekeeping efforts. It has been active in the country since the 1992 elections, but particularly since the 1994 Lusaka peace accords, which eventually led to last April's swearing in of a national unity

Angola in an operation that cost \$1 million a day until a recent troop reduction "The process has been like

drawing blood out of a stone," said a senior diplomat. "It's been a power play with a lot at stake, and Savimbi is a great player. He has always dragged his feet and will only respond if there is musde behind our words." The UN has tried to keep Mr Savimbi in line by imposing sanctions, including bans on fuel and arms, and it raised the prospect of freezing Unita's oreign bank accounts, and a trade ban against Units-controlled areas, 11! CTLUT.

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Jury awards \$120m against priest

odd choice to be ordained as a the Church and Kos, who now Catholic priest. He had once served a year's youth detention for molesting a young male neighbour. Then he was married for a year before persuading his diocese to grant him an annulment

But last week the Roman Catholic Church reeled when a jury awarded \$120 million in damages after finding the Dallas diocese had ignored evidence that Kos sexually abused altar boys as young as nine. It is the biggest award ever made against

The civil case was brought by 10 of Kos's alleged victims and the was promoted to pastor.

works as a paralegal in San Diego, California. It seems likely the Church will foot most of the bill as Kos says he is insolvent.

The alleged abuse began while Kos was a student at Holy Trinity sentinary in Dallas, and continued during placements at three different churches. The Dallas diocese was found guilty of failing to take seriously scores of abuse allegations and a petition from Kos's ex-wife, Kathleen Herzel, drawing attention to his interest in young boys. Shortly after the first complaints he

Joanna Coles in New York proceedings against Kos are likely to follow.

DUDOLPH KOS was always an The damages will be paid by both After listening to 11 weeks of

harrowing testimony, the jury disagreed. They found that one boy had been abused several times a week for several years, and another lived with Kos for two years in the priest's parish residence. Kos joked with friends that he had adopted the boy.

The plaintiffs had sought \$146 million in damages to compensate for lost earnings and mental anguish. They were awarded \$102 million for earnings and anguish and \$18 million in punitive damages, after the jury found the church responsible for failing to act sooner.

Bill Ryan, a spokesman for the family of an 11th, Jay Lemberger, who committed suicide at the age of lawyer, argued that church officials had used reasonable judgment in leaves of almost certainly the largest judgment ever throughout the trial they were not course in Northern Ireland.

such eventualities

made against the church". The | in any way responsible for the story organisation has appealed against | ties of this priest." A Catholic priest extradited by

Fewer than 10 abuse cases have Irish Republic from Northern been brought against the Catholic land after serving time for this Church in the US. The previous offences was sentenced to 127 highest sum awarded was \$3 million | last week for further offe to a man in Minnesota, reduced to writes David Sharrock. \$1.2 million on appeal. Most churches are now insured against

The figure paid out in secret settlements is thought to be much higher, possibly exceeding \$500 million. Jeffrey Anderson, a lawyer from St Paul, Minnesota, said he knew certain dioceses had paid out more than \$50 million. He had represented more than 350 abuse

"We've never been able to get [diocesan officials] to take these matters seriously," said Sylvia

Martin Walker is on holiday

He was alleged to have confor-

his crime to a fellow prisoner—).

the inmate later retracted them

dence. Semen taken from the bo

girl appeared to be his, and blode

is the validity of these tess fight

desperate hours of his life.

his clothing appeared to be her?

supporters challenged in the U.

Perhaps he was innocent !.

what about Timothy McVeigh?(:

there really be any doubt thatk-

the bomb in Oklahoma City to

killed 168 people? And what it

murderers whose guilt is be-

Most Europeans have long in

resolved that question and the

ished the death penalty. That is t

the Italians were so exercised it.

O'Dell: if you oppose capital paid

ment, the prospect of executar

man who may be innocent also

The governor and the citization

Virginia were not impressed is

US may be the last Western with

to have the death penalty - hit Virginia that merely means there

of the world is wrong.

Brendan Smyth, aged 70, was

tenced after a Dublin court has harrowing evidence from some the victims. The "paedophile priest" can to the collapse of Albert Reput Fianna Fail-Labour coalition good ment in 1994 amid controve a six-month delay in extradible

to Belfast to face sex charges it Judge Kelly said he had into account Father Smyth plea but remained fearful the would "seriously sexually ships children again. He based in psychiatric reports and Smb

Elected mayor for London declared a capital idea

run its affairs has proved to be one of the new government's more popular ideas. It has been hugely endorsed in opinion polls and probably played a big part in London's above-average swing to Labour at the general election. Even

the Conservatives have endorsed it. The proposals for a directlyelected executive mayor, and a small assembly of 24 to 32 members, were outlined in a consultative green paper this week. A white paper will follow later this year, leading to a referendum next year, legislation in 1999, and a single voice for London probably in 2000.

As other world capitals have found, a directly-elected mayor can be a strong symbol of civic identity. and a London mayor answerable to 7 million people will not lack influence. But his (or, less probably, her) real power will be limited by the fact that nine-tenths of a £3 billion budget will be provided and controlled by central government.

Nominally, at least, the mayor will control a variety of services — Tube trains, buses, roads, and the police and fire services - and there are suggestions that the mayor could raise extra funds through road pricing and parking charges. But he could have a troubled relationship with the hotch-notch of 32 boroughs which currently control most of the capital's services.

Some flamboyant names bandled about as candidates for the job include Steven Norris and David Mellor, former Tory ministers; Tony Banks, the current sports minister, and Lord Archer, pulp author and former Tory party chairman.

THE controversial Salisbury bypass was cancelled, for environmental reasons - and after a revolt by 18 Labour MPs - by the transport secretary, John Prescott, who also deferred plans for a widening of sections of the congested M25 motor way around London.

But the Birmingham northern relief road, to take the pressure off the M6 motorway, will be allowed to go ahead. The £300 million project will be the first motorway to be privately built and will be the first - apart

from bridges — to charge tolls.

Meanwhile Leicester is to be the first British city to experiment with a "pay-to-drive" scheme. Volunteer commuters will have a choice of paying a stiff toll to drive along a 2.5mile main route into the city or using cheap, fast buses if they leave their cars on the periphery.

ANOTTINGHAMSHIRE school was ordered to report to the school standards minister. Stephen Byers, on why it expelled a 15-yearold girl in the middle of her GCSE course because she refused to apo logise for writing to a local paper about the quality of her teaching.

Sarah Briggs was excluded from Queen Elizabeth's School in Mansfield after writing about staff absenteeism and failure to address recommendations from the Office for Standards in Education, whose inspectors had found educational standards unacceptable. Three other pupils who had also signed the let-

HE PLAN to give London an leter bowed to the head teacher's de-elected body and a mayor to mands for a written apology. Sarah mands for a written apology. Sarah refused, insisting that her comments were true, Mr Byers said education was not "some secret world about which parents and pupils should not be allowed to comment".

> ABOUR'S "old guard" complained bitterly about the decision by the Prime Minister to offer seats on a new Cabinet consultative committee to the Liberal Democrat leader, Paddy Ashdown, and his senior colleagues. Downing Street said the committee would not make policy but would consider "matters of inutual concern", of which the most obvious are the constitution and possible reform of the voting system.

But the veteran of the left, Tony Benn, complained that Mr Blair's cosying up to the Lib Denis, coupled with his other intended party reforms, was "the beginning of the end of the Labour party" He suspected a plot to create an entirely new party of the centre, similar to the US Democrats.

Roy Hattersley, a former Labour deputy leader, also announced himself a reluctant dissenter because the Blair government was "no longer a force for a more equal society".

His reaction, however, was directed more against the decision to charge university students for tuition — a move, he felt, Labour leaders like Hardie, Attlee and Wilson could never have supported.

Mr Blair responded: "People like them were in charge of the party for almost 20 years while we were lusing general elections. The Labour party of the early eighties has largely gone - and a good thing too."

SEAN KINSELLA, a 14-year-old schoolboy who ran away with his best friend's mother, returned to Britain after the pair were tracked down to an apartment in Florida.

Tracey Whalin, aged 33, who was said to have admitted to having a sexual affair with Sean for more than a year, is being held in prison in Key West charged with lewd and indecent assault on a child.

Sean, who has found tabloid stardom with the sale of his story to the Sun newspaper, said he was looking forward to a football trial which could lead to a place on the England youth team. "It was all I was thinking about in Florida," he said.



Walk in . . . Mike Grindley (centre) leads staff back into the GCHQ intolligence centre at Chelenter. the end of a 13-year struggle against a union ban imposed by the Thatcher administration. Fourer of vere sacked for refusing to give up union rights, which have been reinstated by Labour Photo Ethic

Jails given

AN EMERGENCY cash injection of £43 million for Britain's overcrowded jails was ordered last week after official warnings that there would be "severe risks to control" if more prisons were not built.

The Prison Service report, ordered by the Home Secretary, Jack Straw, says so many jails are falling apart they risk condemnation by the health and safety authorities.

The audit report also says that Prison Service spending has not kept pace with inmate numbers, which have increased by 40 per cent in the past four years. The Prison Service faces a shortage of 2,950 places by spring 1999 — equal to six new jails. Four more jails, including two private ones, are in the pipeline.

The director-general of the Prison Service, Richard Tilt, said the extra £43 million cash would enable him to cope with the expected numbers of inmates this winter.

The Government is desperate to avoid the use of cells in police stations to hold prison inmates. The report says such a system is extremely expensive - £10,000 a month for each inmate - and the Prison Service has no funds to cover it.

Professor cleared of sex £43m boost abuse warns of false claims

Stuart Millar

A WORLD-renowned philo-Teophy professor was last week cleared of sexually assaulting two female students who invited themselves back to his study after they had met at a university garden party.

After a jury at Reading crown court had taken almost four hours to find him not guilty. John Cottingham, aged 54, warned that his ordeal proved how vulnerable lecturers could be to mulicious harassment

The two students - referred to as Miss X and Miss Y -- had claimed that when they went back to his study, the professor had turned the conversation to whips, chains and the Marquis de Sade before stripping and

molesting them. But Prof Cottingham, an authority on Descartes who has taught at Reading university for 25 years, said the pair had attempted to "humiliate, seduce of entice" him. When that failed, they had concocted a "pack of lies" as part of a sexual power ploy to discredit him.

He said the older of the No students, now 24, had proformed a striptense in fould him before kissing her friend

aged 22. The professor's wife, Myz and children, Jounna, aged i. and Matthew, 20, broke does: tears when the verdict was to turned. Prof Cottingham sait "This has obviously been a hideous year for myself ands family. I am very glad it has outcome in which I have been

completely vindicated." His case should serve sub son to other lecturers, here Miss Y, the older student the jury the professor had pa down on his knees and in the them to join him, then send assaulted them. She said by had been too shocked to ru

But the court heard that !! Y had made a similar alignmagainst a man she had melis United States three years and The case was dropped afterio refused to take a lie-detector Later, the mother of oned students said they were com

Alarm at death-in-custody errors

Clare Dyer

HE Crown Prosecution Service was last week accused of being a shambles after it ned twice in two days that a decision not to prosecute police officers over a death in custody was

This week the Director of Public Prosecutions, Dame Barbara Mills, lost the right to the final say on whether police or prison staff should be prosecuted over deaths in custody, pending the outcome of an independent inquiry into her handling of such cases.

Police chief

Ouncan Campbell

calls for action

RITAIN'S most senior police

Dotticer is seeking the power to

sick corrupt officers on the spot.

ir Paul Condon, Commissioner of

the Metropolitan Police, believes

there are up to 200 dishonest offi-

cers in the force who are using the

lisciplinary process to evade pun-

Sir Paul believes that the Home

Secretary, Jack Straw, should confer-

The Commissioner would like to

able to dismiss dishonest offi-

cers who no longer enjoy the confi-

dence of their colleagues. To

reassure officers who fear they would be the targets of concerted

malicious allegations by criminals, a

new law would be sought to make

such allegations against the police a

At present, a police officer can be

lismissed only after lengthy disci-

plinary proceedings. Sir Paul be-

lieves this has been abused, with

some officers taking sick leave -

sometimes with their doctors saying

that if the officer concerned had to

face a disciplinary hearing, he might commit suicide. He also feels

concern about the way officers

under investigation make use of the

Sir Paul makes it clear he be-

lieves corruption affects as few as

200 officers out of 27,000 in the Met

and that the standard of honesty

right to silence on legal advice.

and commitment is high.

criminal offence.

owers to take effective action.

nature of such cases, decisions are I dence that these were probably Dame Barbara agreed to recon-

over the death of Richard O'Brien. an Irish-born father of seven, after a High Court challenge was brought by his widow, Alison.

She then threw in her hand on a similar challenge brought by Olamid Jones, widow of Shiji Lapite, Nigerian asylum-seeker who died after being placed in a neck-hold 30 minutes after he was stopped by police for "acting suspiciously." inquest juries had recorded verdicts of unlawful killing in both instances.

The cases reveal that, despite the

skler a decision not to prosecute | taken at a lower level and evidence | caused by his head being banged on is not considered by the DPP.

The case collapsed after Patrick O'Connor, QC for the O'Brien family, alerted judges to discrepancies in an affidavit from Robert Munday, the principal crown prosecutor who takes prosecution decisions in police cases, and memos to superiors about the case, explaining why the decision was taken.

Mr Munday cites considerations in a memo - for example his theory that injuries to Mr O'Brien were inflicted by his son accidentally kicking him in the police van, highly charged and controversial contrary to the pathologist's evi-

the ground — which are absent from the affidavit submitted to the court under oath explaining the

Lord Justice Rose expressed concern about the different reasons given by Mr Munday for not going ahead with a prosecution in his affidavit and the memo. The judge also said he was concerned about the confusion over who had taken the

reasons for not instigating a prose-

A Crown Prosecution Service spokeswoman said Dame Barbara did not see the evidence but only a

In Brief

BRITISH calls for new sanitary standards over the killing of beef cows in Continental abbatoirs for export to Britain were narrowly backed by European Union farm ministers, ending the threat of a UK import ban.

UK NEWS 9

■ UDGES trying two British urses charged with murdering Yvonne Gilford in Saudi Arabia are considering disqualifying the victim's brother from having a say in their punishment, as he is not an heir and so could have no legal right to demand that the nurses, Deborah Parry and Lucille McClauchlan, be executed if found guilty.

A BORTIONS rose by more than 8 per cent last year compared with the previous year. The increase was probably result of the October 1995

ntraceptive pill scare. Living in terror, page 2-

HE Government is to carry out a review of the role of women in the armed forces. giving them more prominence and operating a "zero tolerance policy towards sexual and racial harasament in the services.

RONNIF BIGGS, the Great Train Robber, aged 68, who extradited to Britain following the ratification of a new treaty between the two countries.

RACIE ANDREWS, aged 28. has been jailed for life after being found guilty of murdering her flancé. Lee Harvey, despite ber claim that he was the victim of a road ruge attack.

ROSEMARY WEST will spend the rest of her life in prison, the Home Office announced. She was convicted in 1995 of killing 10 young women.

BRITAIN'S new ambassador to the United States is to be Christopher Meyer, a professional diplomat and former spokesman for John Major.

AYMOND "Jak" Jackson, cartoonist on the London Evening Standard for 31 years, has died, aged 70.

GRAHAM FITCHIE, a part-time youth worker, has been ialled for three years after he accrued and passed on the bigge collection of paedophile material downloaded from the Internet to be discovered in Britain.

AVLOS Georgiou, a Cypriot fisherman, has been convicted of knowingly and negligently transmitting the Aids virus to a British woman, Janette Pink.

VINCENT HANNA, the broad-caster and political pundit described by colleagues as one of the best journalists of his generation, has died, aged 57.



T IS a fascination that has existed since long before Victor Frankenstein realised bis dream of infusing life into an inanimate body, only to find "the beauty of the dream vanished and breathless horror in my heart", writes Stuart Millar.

But hundreds of scientists, philosophers and artists converged on Brighton this week for an event that proves the determination to create life has not diminished since Frankenstein's monster first opened its eyes.

Almost 180 years since Mary

this burgeoning area of research has advanced beyond the imaginations of science fiction writers. On show are some of the most advanced artificial creatures on the planet, some of which walk, talk and learn, while others exist

only in supercomputers but can breed and develop strategies for their survival.

Among the most striking ex-hibits is the Evolved Octopod, a large purple creature resembling

Artificial Life underlines how far

ways of moving - for reasons its creators do not understand. The event includes debates on the way people understand the origins of life and discussions on the ethics of artificial life.

ware package that allowed it to

learn to move itself. Each time it

given a "virtual reward" until the

learned something new it was

software became so successful

that it was transferred into an

actual machine. Even now, the

octopod continues to learn new

Injuries fall under UK law | Free tuition for students ends

ering taking out civil action of the alleged incident. Paul Brown and Greg Dropkin

THE House of Lords, in a artist, and said they would not be disciplined. "I don't expect to accuse from a businessman, said in the said they would not be disciplined. "I don't expect to accuse from a businessman, said in the said they would not be don't have been a businessman. oyees for negligence in Lon-

like an audition for the Al Market and audition opens the door for show. As the white men stools in the multinationals with headquart show. As the white men stown the many the line-up, the heat and the make-up residence in London to be sued for actions of their overseas subsidiaries.

The case involved Scottish engineer Education of their overseas subsidiaries.

smudge. There was no we included the identity parade could have been need to be identity parade could have been need to be included the included the included the included the included included the included the included tion, said that the parade is tually been abandoned without to high levels of radioactive witnesses being called to with a suspects of the posed to high levels of radioactive transmum and silica dust and had his suspects of the posed to high levels of radioactive transmum and silica dust and had his any removed in 1986. He is seek three years to get here. Now we can at sold the South Yorkshire is tould not be properly held in his serious injuries.

Namibia because the highly professional representation, from legal and scientific experts, was not avail-

Another fundamental issue was one of legal aid, which was not available in Namibia. The Lords heard that Mr Connelly's legal team were prepared to work on the case for a fee conditional on a successful outcome to the case.

Richard Meeran, of Leigh Day & Co said: This is a clear case of an English parent company trying to avoid its responsibilities for a dangerous process carried out abroad. Mr Connelly has been battling for three years to get his case heard here. Now we can at last get on with obtaining some compensation for

AREVOLUTION in the funding of higher education was de-

clared last week when the Government announced plans to charge scrap the student maintenance grant in a package of reforms to raise about £1,7 billion to expand universities and colleges

The Education and Employment Secretary, David Blunkett, aunounced a new system of student loans to soften the blow. He said students and their parents would not be required to pay any extra money up front during courses, and that repayments after graduation would be tailored to avoid undue strain on ncome - if necessary by extending them over 23 years.

Undergraduates from families earning less than £16,000 a year I the cost of the £2 billion reforms.

vould be exempt from the tuition fee, and there would be bursaries for students of teacher training,

> medicine and other social care They intend to phase from October next year and the full effect will be felt by freshers arriving in 1999.

Mr Blunkett's announcement came within two hours of a report by the committee of inquiry under Sir Ron Dearing which proposed an annual tuition fee of £1,000 for all full-time undergraduates, but argued for the continuation of maintenance grants.

The Government largely accepts his report. But his plan for student funding flew in the face of Labour's manifesto commitment to abolish the grant. His tuition fees would have covered little more than half



It's the black-and-white identity parade shown and company could be sued by that the case should be heard in the

David Ward

OLICE in South Yorkshire said last week they would alter their procedures after eight white men vere blacked up by a make-up artist for an identity parade involving a man describing himself as a Salfordorn, half-lrish, half-West African Mancunian.

Martin Kamara faced a blackmail charge at Sheffield crown court but the judge abandoned the trial when he heard details of the parade, describing it as a farce.

But South Yorkshire's assistant fended the officers who called in the Mr Kamara aged 43, of Wheatley,

STATE OF THE STATE

anyone of a farce if they were trying genuinely to get it right," he said.

They tried; they were misguided." Mr Hollis said officers had made strenuous efforts to make the identity parade work after he had not been able to find men whose skin colour matched that of Mr Kamara, a bald, bearded engineer who is 6ft

"They are guilty only of trying too hard to make the process work. No damage was done because the defence solicitor said he was not

Labour hails great Scottish adventure

Ewen MacAskill

HE Labour government last week embarked on its biggest venture yet when i published a constitutional package aimed at returning to Scotland in three years the parliament it lost almost 300 years ago.

Describing it as "a new parliament for the new millennium", the Scottish Secretary, Donald Dewar, published a white paper that will create a powerful 129-member taxraising and legislative parliament in Edinburgh in January 2000.

The white paper could cause the biggest constitutional upheaval in Britain since Irish independence in 1920, with opportunities for a rethink of the political structure in England too.

The scale of the task being undertaken in disentangling the two countries is underlined in the detail. Issues from abortion to film classification will be divided between Westminster and Edinburgh.

The paper will establish a parliament with much more power than the one proposed by Labour in the 1970s. It will be responsible for health, education, local government, economic development, law and home affairs, and other departments. Westminster will retain responsibility for foreign policy, defence, security and other key areas. A complex mechanism will djudicate between Westminster and the Scottish parliament.

The new parliament will be elected by a form of proportional representation, with 73 of the 129 MSPs (Members of a Scottish Pariament) elected from constituencies and the remainder from a list system. It will be a fixed-term parliament. The numbers to be elected may be reduced eventually from 129 to 108, in line with the likely reduction in representation of the 72 Scottish MPs at Westminster.

Conservative MPs complained that ministers from the Scottish parliament will be able to negotiate direct with the European Union, at times on behalf of the UK, but they would not be able to question them.

There was also concern among | Comment, page 12

Conservative MPs over the Scottish parlinment's power to raise up to £450 million either through income tax or some other form of taxation.

The Scottish National Party finally ended its long-standing hostility to devolution last weekend and confirmed it would support the campaign for a Yes vote in Septem-

The party's leader, Alex Salmond, said the Government's white paper on devolution opened a "door of opportunity" for the Scottish people to move towards outright indepen-dence and said the SNP would mount its own pro-devolution campaign, as well as supporting the trade union-backed Scotland Forward group.

The decision came as William Hague announced that a future Tory government would not abolish Scottish parliament or Welsh as-

public unanimity from Labour in Scotland contrasted with the Welsh Labour party, some of whose MPs openly defied proposals for a Welsh

In a Commons debate on the assembly, the strongest attack came from Alan Williams, the Labour MP for Swansea West. He mocked the Welsh Secretary's pledge to involve MPs from across the UK in the campaign to secure a Yes vote, saying: "Once again, you are bringing the English to Wales to tell we Welsh what's good for us."

But Plaid Cymru boosted plans for a Welsh assembly last weekend

by calling for a Yes vote. Meanwhile the first opinion poll since the devolution white paper shows that support for a Scottish parliament has dipped. An ICM poll in Scotland on Sunday newspaper shows 68 per cent say they will vote for the parliament, a fall of 4 per cent in the last month. And opposition to the "tartan tax" is at its highest ever with 36 per cent against the proposal to give the parliament power o vary the basic rate of income tax by 3p, compared with 55 per cent who back the tax-raising powers.



Flying the flag . . . A shop assistant hoists the cross of St Andrew in the window of Edinburgh's Royal Mile PHOTOGRAPH: JEFF MITCHELL

THE RESERVE OF THE PARTY OF THE

Blair shrugs off defection

Rebecca Smithers and Ewen MacAskill

TONY Blair last week bruik aside questions over the combarrassing defection to the Torics of a Labour activist that he toured Uxbridge, the fire prime minister to campaigning by election for more than 18 year

Labour dismissed the innouncement by Michael Shrimpton, a lawyer, that he was joining the Conservative as case of sour grapes after he failed to be selected as theondidate in next week's byelegia

The party added that is Shrimpton, far from being sti wart Labour member, had bes in the Tory party, as well site Social Democratic party and the Socialist Workers' party Aspla man said: "Michael Shrimpto changes political party almos often as he changes his chits' "

Mr Shrimpton's malacon plaint of Labour's "overcentralisation" follows local party concern at the imposion of a headquarters-approved candidate in place of a local man, David Williams, who within a few hundred votes of ending 25 years of Conservative representation in the Middless seat on May 1. Mr Blairs viol was an attempt to consolidate the 12 per cent swing to labor

at the general election. The seat was held since 1972 by Sir Michael Shersby, whold a week after the election. Holing the seat would boost the month of Conservative leader, Willia Hague, as the Tories bave of won a byelection since his with Richmond, Yorkshire in 1989. Gordon McMaster, the Law MP for Paisley South, has did at the age of 37. He had conplained for two years about pression and exhaustion links to over-exposure to organophosphates from years as app fessional gardener. Mr McMaster held the six

Lobour seat with a majority 12,750 votes at the election Mr Blair said he was "deep! saddened" to hear of his dea

Hague sets out to reform Tory party

ORY leader William Hague last week unveiled the Con servatives' most spectacula when he announced centralisation of party structure, powers to expel rogue MPs like Neil Hamilton and a ban on the foreign donations that have disfigured Tory fundraising.

in the first convincing evidence that the Opposition leader acknow ledges the size of the task he inher ited, Mr Hague effectively borrowed Tony Blair's New Labour

modernisation blueprint and adapted it to Tory needs.

cal disaster came after years o blank refusal to admit anything was wrong. Not only will the names of large donors, private and corporate, be published in future, but MPs, councillors and activists whose "gross misconduct brings scorn

upon the party" will be expelled.

tion day, as a frustrated Mr Major found himself unable to prevent Mr Hamilton hanging on in Tatton until the voters picked Martin Bell. Hague nides denied planning to

That, too, was heresy until elec-

In a major act of contrition Mr Hague said: "The simple fact is that the voters believed we were divided among ourselves. They believed we had lost touch with some of the people we always said we represented. They formed the view that there was more than a hint of arrogance and conceit in the ranks of our par liamentary party."

The tone of his speech, and its ap-

peal for intellectual rigour as well as new structures, reminded some Tories of the work, led by R A Butler at

pounds of foreign donations accepted under Margaret Thatcher and John Major have proved a political possibility that all shortlists will include a woman.

| Slaughter sacred cows includes the possibility that all shortlists will include a woman. | Labour's last great landslide in 1945. |
| The Tories regained power for 13 years in 1951.

Even moderates will take heart that he is concentrating on organisation during Labour's honeymoor rather than setting out policy posi-tions, as he initially did in ruling out the European single currency for 10

But Labour mocked his efforts. Peter Mandelson, minister without portfolio, predicted that "no effort to create a pale imitation of New Labour will count if there is no pol icy change to go with it".

Though Mr Hague went out of centralise candidate selection, as the Conservative Research Depart. his way in the speech to senior Labour is doing. But the rush to ment to restore party fortunes after 1 party activists and officials to assure

the grassroots that he would not "ride roughshod over our con-stituency associations," its thrust was entirely towards creating a central machine through which the leadership can talk directly to the rank and file.

He admitted that the party must be more open about its funds, the subject of recurring battles with Labour and the media. "In not being so in the past, we have often appeared secretive and defensive, and we have paid a political price for that," Mr Hague said.

The 36-year-old Tory leader said that the election defeat had been a "disaster" on a scale only now sinking in. In effect he owned up to many of Labour's campaign charges that ministers had become arrogant and out of touch after 18

Britain to cede Atlantic rights

Lawrence Donegan and John Vidal

THE Government is to sign away Britain's rights to 60,000 square miles of the Atlantic ocean around the granite outcrop of Rockall in a move which could potentially cost billions in future oil, fishing and minerals rights.

The Foreign Office confirmed last week that the Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, will ratify the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sen, an international treaty that forbids uninhabited rocks without an economy being used as a basis for territorial claims.

Britain's westernmost claims will now be the islands of St Kilda, 100 miles off the Western Isle of Harris. Rockall itself remains part of the UK because it is within 200 miles of

As a result of the decision, Britain will have to cede (ishing and mining rights to an area in a 200-mile radius around Rockall. Much of the sea around the rock will be redefined as "international waters". The announcement may reopen diplomatic disputes between Britain, Ireland and Iceland, which have laid claim to the 83ft high outcrop annexed by Britain in 1955.

Bob Allen, chief executive of the Scottish Fishermen's Association, occused the Government of squandering a potentially valuable area of sea. "We can't support giving up an area that size. Our boats now face international competition if they want to develop a fishery for unex-

ploited deep water species."

The National Federation of Fishermen's Organisations also con-demned the decision. But a spokesman for the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food said it would "barely affect" British catches, with no more than 0.2 per cent of the fish landed in Scotland each year comig from the area. "It will not affect British fishing quotas, and 95 per cent of the affected area will be open to British fleets."

Although oil and gas exploration: rights are based on the extent of the continental shelf rather than the Law of the Sea, it is expected that Britain may now have to cede the scahed west of Rockall.

The news was welcomed by Greenpeace, which has occupied Rockall for two months in protest at he industrialisation of the Atlantic.

Mr. Cook said that by algning the convention Britain would gain trade auvantages and greater leverage in tackling environmental problems.



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Unionists to share table with Sinn Fein | PM rejects call for privacy law

Mary Holland in Dublin arguing for bilateral talks between LSTER Unionists will sit down ministers and political parties, avoidto talk with Sinn Fein almost as ing direct contact with Sinn Fein. soon as the peace process resumes But their desire to see Sinn Fein after the summer break, leading sign up may induce them to take the momentous step of meeting. lovalist sources believe. The break-

The principles commit all parties through is expected on September 9, six days before the date set by the to the use of non-violent and demosubstantive talks, when former US tives. Sinn Fein will also have to Senator George Mitchell will chair a agree to abide by any political settleplenary session at Stormont. ment reached at the talks. The Ulster Unionist party has

For the unionists, this would already decided in principle to take mean that the republican movement part. Sinn Fein representatives are | would have accepted the principle now expected to be asked to attend | of consent - that any future settleto sign up to the Mitchell principles. ment must have the agreement of a paving the way for the party's admajority within the province. David Trimble, the Ulster Union-

mission to the negotiations, which are due to begin on September 15. ist leader, and his deputy, John Tay-This opens the possibility that | lor, have emphasised that the party leaders of the main unionist party | will remain engaged in the talks will sit in the same room as Sinn | process. One unionist source said: Fein representatives for the first time in the history of Northern Ireland's troubles.

Publicly, the Ulster Unionists are | should be no IRA violence. It would help if we could be seen to have made some progress on the decomissioning front."

The Ulster Unionists are to undertake a series of intensive consultations with party members and other political groups over the next few

lan Paisley's Democratic Union-ists and Robert McCartney's UK privacy act. Unionists walked out of the peace process last week and said they would not return until another process was set up. Mr Trimble will argue that if the main party representing the unionist community follows their example, the unionist case will go by default and the task of devising political structures for Northern Ireland will be left to the

nationalist SDLP and Sinn Fein. They will also point out that if Sinn Fein signs up to the Mitchell "A great deal will depend on what | principles, it means that the republihappens in the next six weeks. | cans will have to accept a "partition-Obviously, it is crucial that there ist settlement". - The Observer

Michael White

ing shot: "All I am saying is tell law of privacy is likely to design TONY BLAIR remains opposed to privacy legislation despite his Lord Chancellor's warning last weekend that the Government's commitment to incorporate the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) into British law is likely to prompt judges to create a

Because the ECHR contains a right to privacy, as English common | and the wider public to give law does not. Lord Irvine believes a series of early landmark cases will allow judges to develop a de facto privacy act - possibly more restric-

cash-for-questions, John Major lived has sought to woo his limited in fear that backbenchers on both sides would ignore ministerial warn-forced to act of the state of the sta ings and vote for a draconian — and | Mr Blair iavours sell regulation

and if it develops as a tort of plan for damages, then you can look heavy actions and court cases why would the closest analogy Lord Irvine, one of the Minister's closest III used an interview with the f

server newspaper to urge them

thought" to whether or tot

problem would be be tacked Parliament passing a specific by Though the Lord Chancek tive than Parliament itself might impose.

After a succession of attacks on Tory MPs, from sex scandals to provide the succession of attacks on the succession of

unworkable - revenge on the and has promiser a press.

Opening the secret everything agreed by the Scottish people in a remarkable exercise in democracy, the Scottish Constitutional Convention, which brought together **Swiss vaults**

THE SWISS Bankers' Association is billing its new drive to locate Holocaust survivors or their heirs as the final chapter that will settle accounts "with dignity and honour". It is rather late for either. For decades their system relied on a code of secrecy to avoid opening the books. Last week, spurred by a mixture of international pressure and domestic unease, the Association placed advertisements in newspapers throughout the world listing the names of all dormant accounts dating back to the second world war. Even so, this measure will only be effective if the fullest details are provided to assist identification. In the past the Swiss have refused to divulge any significant information, only admitting that they held a few million dollars in Jewish assets. Some accounts were closed without the knowledge of potential account holders and advertised locally before the money was pocketed by the banks or handed on to Swiss charities. A 1960s law on disclosure expired in 1974 and only one in seven of all claimants was successful. The very existence of the list shows how far the banks dodged the disclosure of dor mant assets then.

Yet it would be a mistake to regard this (and perhaps gain satisfaction from it) as a tale of peculiarly Swiss hypocrisy. Consciences have been stirred in Switzerland as well as a sense of commercial prudence. It should also be acknowledged that banking and bureaucracy are much the same everywhere, A special session in the Israeli Knesset last week was a reminder that Britain, on a smaller but still significant scale, has a similar problem. Millions of pounds in British bank accounts — many of which belonged to Jews — were confiscated by the Custodian of Enemy Property because they were owned by "enemy nationals" in Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary. As in Switzerland, efforts by survivors or their heirs to get back their assets have often been frustrated. Research is now under way to establish the status of these funds; some may have been handed over in post-war deals with other countries, and ex gratia payments to individuals may need to be made.

Looming over these developments is the even larger issue — only fully exposed a year ago — of the Nazi gold left in Swiss bank vaults after the war. The Western allies took half the amount and disposed of most of it in bilateral deals: a final tranche of about \$96 million remains in the Bank of England and the US Federal Reserve. The other half (about \$1 billion at today's prices) presumably still sits in the Swiss vaults. The Bergler Commission is expected to report on its history and whereabouts by the end of the year. Then Switzerland is likely to face a set of new claims both from governments and from survivors since a portion of the gold was "non-monetary", or melted down loot. Overdue is hardly the word for an exercise that is 50 years too late. But it needs to be done, with energy, for those who still survive.

Scotland's vote for self-rule

OR MORE than 100 years, Scots have been battling for some form of self-government. At first it was only a slightly eccentric band of Scots, grouped round the Scottish Home Rule Association, founded in 1886, but support gradually increased. Thirteen bills were introduced before the first world war. The Irish left but the Scots introduced in the inter-war years and again after the second world war. The attempts were repeatedly frustrated, partly because of the duplicity of the Westminster establishment but mainly because of divisions among the Scots themselves. Last week's white paper marks the best chance yet for the Scots to complete what the former Opposition leader John Smith described as Labour's "unfinished business".

The Scots appear to have reached a settled will, with little opposition any longer to devolution. The messy débacle of the 1979 referendum is unlikely to be repeated. That referendum took place at the fag-end of a Labour government, with Labour MPs

The Scottish Secretary, Donald Dewar, has done well for the Scots. His white paper delivers almost | be fair, expected New Labour to break it.

Labour, the Liberal Democrats, the churches, the unions, councils and others. Their blueprint is almost identical to the white paper: a 129-member parliament, elected by proportional representa-tion, with tax-raising and law-making powers.

The price exacted by the Unionists in the Cabinet grouped around the Home Secretary, Jack Straw, was a reduction in the number of Scottish MPs at Westminster. Few will argue against this: what would be dishonest would be to claim this is an answer to the West Lothian Question (the argument that Scottish MPs at Westminster should have no say in English matters as English MPs have no say in Scottish matters). It is not the numbers that are in contention but the principle Labour has argued in the past that this is an anomaly and that we will just have to live with it: after all, we put up with the Lords for long enough. The only real answer rests with the Liberal Democrats - a federal Britain - and the UK may yet evolve towards auch a structure.

A more important question is whether creation of a Scottish parliament will maintain the Union just as Catalonia has remained part of Spain and Bavaria part of Germany — or whether it will lead to full independence. It is a 50-50 shout. Under the security of the European Union umbrella, independence is a feasible option. Labour's response is grown-up one: if the Scots eventually opt for independence, then so be it. But Labour will do its damnedeat to avoid that by trying to make devolu-

Devolution is not simply a matter for the Scots. Dismantling the structures at Westminster opens the way for getting rid of lots of staid practices and moving Britain towards a genuinely decentralised state. It will be a remarkable achievement for Labour, given that it won the election as a highly disciplined and centralised force.

The Guardian's late and much loved columnist, James Cameron, a Scot, writing about the Scottish devolution debate in the 1970s said the problem with the Scots was they liked argument for its own sake: "The Scotch have forever taken enormous pains never to be on the winning side." That has been true of the debate on self-government until now. The Scots have the opportunity in their referendum on September 11 finally to emerge on the winning side. We hope, for the sake of demo-cracy throughout the UK, that they vote over-whelmingly Yes.

Arms for obfuscation

RITAIN IS one of the largest arms exporters in the world, says the British Foreign Secretary. The Government deeply regrets this, and is determined to reduce the country's dependence upon the marketing of weapons of death.
Whoops! Cancel that second sentence! What

Robin Cook actually said on Monday was that Britain's leading position in the business "obliges us to take seriously the reputation of the arms trade", because "success and responsibility go hand in hand". Yes, indeed they do. So do principle and expediency, as when Mr Cook proclaims an ethical policy but commits himself to maintain a

strong defence industry.
His criteria for considering arms export licence applications start off well enough. A licence "should be refused" — no hesitation there — if it is inconsistent with Britain's international obligations. But the next criteria, on British national interests, tilt the other way. Such interests should affect British security or economic interests or "the UK's relations with the recipient country". A third set of criteria on human rights continues promisingly but soon bogs down. The Government will "take [human rights] !nto account" — no mention here of giving them "full weight". Export licences will be denied where there is clear evidence of the recent use of weapons for internal repression, or where the equipment has obvious application for that purpose. The adjectives give the benefit of any doubt to the end-user.

Mr Cook's statement lists so many criteria that the anti-arms campaigners will find something useful in it too. And his promised annual report will provide a new opportunity for checking progress. But the same old circle is being squared: no one, to

Busybodies can do more harm than good

Martin Woollacott

HEN a horrified George Kennan put on the televi-sion and watched "Marines going ashore in the grey dawn of another African day, in Somalia" five years ago he decided to keep his views to himself. America was already engaged and nothing the famous diplomat and scholar could say would change that, but he recorded in his diary that "I regard this move as a dreadful error".

It was not only that intervention without a serious consideration of the likely consequences was foolish, as Kennan saw it. Intervention, in Somalia and other places, was predicated on a vastly exaggerated idea of what a nation, even a very powerful one, could do for other societies, especially damaged and anarchic ones.

Since Somalia, there has been a continuing debate between those who think that intervention is usually wrong and often leads to disaster and those who think it an obligation on the better off and more stable countries. The coup in Cambodia, which has hustled out of power the party that won the United Nationssupervised elections, certainly reinforces the case of the pessimists. After all this effort, it seems, what has been accomplished is that a wing of the Cambodian communist party, those Khmer Rouge who joined forces with the Vietnamese, has been ensconced in power. Since Hun Sen's s the only halfway effective government available, and since a repetition of the imprecedented intervention of five years ago is inconceivable, he will prevail, and the world will probably choose to deal with him more or less unconditionally.

Nor is Cambodia the only disappointment, in looking at those interventions in the last few years which set out to restore, or create, the beginnings of normal life and democracy in countries broken down by war. Bosnia is, for the time being, a sort of success, but the possibility of a future failure is apparent. Albania. the scene of the most recent intervention, is an enigma. In West Africa, where regional intervention forces moved into Liberia and Sierra Leone,

the picture is discouraging.

Kennan's analysis in Somalia was that change could be effected only by "the establishment of a governing power for the entire territory, and a very ruthless and determined one at that. It could not be a democratic one, because the very prerequisites for a democratic political system de not exist among the people in question. Our action holds no promise of correcting this situation".

There undoubtedly exists a forwhich has been shown to be inadequate. Largely, but not entirely, ar American formula, it consists of a riple application, over a very short period, of troops, elections, and money. The troops are to restore order, the elections to express the will of the people and give a new government legitimacy, and the money to revive the economy and to nduce former opponents to deal

with one another. The trouble is that these elements, as applied in practice, represent more a kind of caricature of Western beliefs — in the usefulness of technically sophisticated military | menacingly in the wings.

force, in democracy as a passa, and in the power of cash — flats: effective programme. What usur happens is that the troops to st stay long enough, the elections as held too early, and the money is stolen. A further element in the formula does not necessary in prove matters. The engagement diverse non-governmental organic tions brings benefits but on h commound the chaos and sides; pressure for quick results. Process takes over. The profe-

tion for phases, deadlines, under-

tifiable results puts pressure mb

career diplomats, soldiers, IN 6 cials, and retired politicians als take on these thankless taken & clare each stage of the proces; success. Otherwise how could: continue? And how could the States commitments, in particular pull out by a certain date, that honoured? That is why progresalways uneven, but never some: as to bring about a halt, mist elections are always flaved by never so flawed as to be declarate valid. That is why it was neveran. possibility that the main elector-Bosnia would be postponed &: ans who cared about their corargued that quick elections w only consolidate the ethnic desists. But they were drowned at the election mantra. In Camb & the cheating came afterwards to. the defeated party was inside government simply because threatened to make troubleifit not given a share in power.

blame the society concert The ambassador who years ago in Cambodia panel say "How can I explain the noth: ness of these people?" was exping an impatience that many lefelt over the Khmer combinates insouciance and ruthlessness? none of these stories is over I impact of intervention on Cambi Bosnia, or Somalia cannot be L measured. Even in Somalia 32 good may have been achieved ! may wish these things had be done better, yet not conclude & they ought not to have been dozs

HE INCLINATION may be

Strobe Talbott, No 2 at the state department, in a 1994 kt. spoke of the resolve to estable "new attitudes, arrangements. structures. Some of these that come fixtures on the internation landscape; others evolve; wither away; still others blow of our faces". It is true that more? blowing up in our faces than we pected. In another book, Kerl quotes Macaulay's argument is Commons that "by exerting " the society with which we are nearly connected and with white are best acquainted, we shall more to promote the happines? mankind than by busying ourse about matters which we do understand and cannot control.

Kennan's is a necessary with caution. But it should be heeded by avoiding every intervention by ensuring that intervention is deformed into a theatrical display which troops, election the and aid givers rush about on the while the forces that created crisis in the first place ten

Le Monde

Silence speaks loud in Basque Country

Marie-Claude Decamps In Mondragon

T IS raining in Mondragon, in the heart of Spain's Basque L Country. But in this historic bastion of ETA, the armed Basque separatist movement whose political wing, Herri Batasuna (HB), controls the town council, the rain is not going to drench any blue-andblack ribbons of the kind that have decked buildings throughout Spain as a token of sympathy for the latest nurdered hostage, Miguel Angel Blanco; shot by ETA on July 12. Here, there are no ribbons.

Nor will the downpour in the medieval streets of Mondragon's old town discourage local inhabitants from tulking to journalists they do not talk anyway.

And yet, despite the stony faces and a vague atmosphere of fear, a revolution is stirring. On July 18, the "moderate" nationalist Basque parties - the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV). Eusko Alkartasuna and the Socialist Party - tabled a censure motion against the HB mayor o Mondragon, Xabier Zubizarreta.

They did so in line with the directives to "isolate HB politically" issued by most of the democratic parties, which were outraged by the murder of Blanco, a town councillor in Ermua. Against all expectations, Mondragon the silent is about to become a testing-ground for the new response to terrorism.

Mondragon has, in fact, always been something of a testing-ground. In the forties it offered a fine example of solidarity, when an inspired priest, José Maria de Arizmendiarrieta, formed the largest holding company of its kind in Spain, Mondragon Corporacion Co-operativa, consisting of 100 co-operatives. It now employs almost 80 per cent of the town's 25,000 inhabitants.

During the repressive years under General Francisco Franco, Mondragon was above all a testingground for the nationalist struggle More than a score of ETA's leading fighters were born there.

The most celebrated of them was Txomin lturbe, a charismatic leader | quarters, except for Spain's ruling | able happened on July 14 — 1,000 | who initiated negotiations with rep-

resentatives of the Spanish govern-ment in Algiers at the end of the eighties. His funeral in Mondragon was an historic event: it was attended by 50,000 people waving nationalist flags and singing a hymn to Basque freedom.

In the past few years, however, Mondragon has become little more than a testing-ground for those who trade in fear and cruelty. It was here, in a tiny dungeon, that a prison warder, José Ortega Lara, was held hostage for 532 days, On July 1 he was freed by the Guardia Civil. That did not stop HB marchng in support of ETA prisoners.

Mondragon is a place where a lot of arm-twisting goes on behind the scenes: during the election of the mayor, even though the other par-ties ganged up against HB (which got about 26 per cent of the vote). number of town councillors decided at the last moment not to vote a they had been instructed. As a result, HB kept control of the council.

There were also perhaps fears that the situation might degenerate into violence, as It did in the town of Hernani, where HB, the majority party on the council, is at war with the Socialist mayor.

Some inhabitants of Mondragon suggest jokingly that the current state of affairs governmenters their peace of mind. This is not a town where telephone boxes, buses and cash dispensers are vandalised. Young people on the fringes of radical movements go and let off steam

In Mondragon, when people talk to you, preferably not in their homes, they tell much the same story — about anonymous phone calls, shopkeepers whose windows are smashed, a local politician who is attacked in a car park, a journalist whose photograph is published to

Suppliers of reinforced doors and metal shutters are doing good business. The town's pluckier inhabitants go and demonstrate in San Sebastian or Vitoria, never at home.

In Mondragon, political parties generally use cafés as their head-

The funeral of Miguel Angel Blanco, who was kidnapped and shot by

clos, who is from Vitoria (no local person dared stand), says; "The list of our members is secret. If we had a headquarters, it would make a perfeet target. It wouldn't last a week."

Almost every local political decision is taken in a café called Herriko Taberna, HB's headquarters, The walls are lined with photographs of the dozen ETA prisoners born in Mondragon, and a donation box is prominently displayed for those who ish "to support their families".

The cafe's owner - and HB supporter — José Ignacio remembers the years of repression when he was told, as a Basque-speaking child: "Speak Christian, won't you!" And he recalls how the Françoist police hiefs were given a rough ride by "our fighters".

But he says nothing of the present. When I refer to the massive demonstrations of the past few days and Blanco's horrible death, he remains stonily indifferent. "It had no effect on me. Unless we have the right to self-determination, we're not living in a democracy. And any method to reach that end is valid."

It would seem, then, that nothing has changed. And yet the unthink-

sole town councillor, Antonio Pala- | Mondragon, They expressed anger, not hatred. No one here wants to Isolate HB "socially", by hoycotting its supporters' shops, for example, as appened in Ermua and elsewhere.

What's all this talk of our being isolated? Here we're all Basques. cousins, friends. Whether we're violent or not, we have to live together That's what Madrid doesn't understand," suys Joséba, a café owner.

The local PNV leader, Agustin Urgarte, whose door is covered with angry slogans such as "PNV murderers!", says more or less the same thing, though with more of a political slant: "We in the PNV feel that we already enjoy a large measure of autonomy, that there are other ways of achieving self-deter-mination, and that our future is oound up with Europe's future. But the Basque Country can't be divided up into two distinct societies. They have been intolerant, so don't

let's act in the same way."
Palacios, of the PP, who knew Blanco when they were both economics students at Bilbao Univer sity, says: "To ostracise HB would be to play into ETA's hands and add fuel to the flames. We must leave some bridges open so they can join us, but they must be narrow ones."

France looks to change its role in Africa

COMMENT Frédéric Fritscher

LTHOUGH the news is not A yet official, France is poised to reduce its military presence in Africa. It has already been confirmed that France's Bount onse, in the Central African Republic, will be closed down; ind it is very likely that French forces will soon pull out altogether from Gabon, Chad or the Central African Republic. The dan is to scale down the number of French troops in Africa from more than 8,000 to about

In a sense the decision vhich was taken before Lionel lospin become prime minister - marks the continuity of france's Africa policy. It will be sp to the new defence minister, Alain Richard, to explain the plan to France's friends on the continent. That will be no casy task, given the very close ties that link Paris with those three

France has stendfastly supported Chad in its war to tunnels the expansionist appetites of Libya's Colonel luammar Gadafy, Had it not been for the Epervier operation, which took thousands of French soldiers into Chad in the late eighties, the Aozou strip would now be Libyan.

President Jacques Chirac is en old friend of Gabon's president, Omar Bongo, and French oil companies have done very well out of Gabon's mineral wealth. As for the Central African Republic, it is no secret that it has long served as a key operational base for the French rmy in Africa.

It is common knowledge that Paris has "appointed" and then ousted a succession of Chadian residents, unconditionally bolstered the Bongo regime, and organised the elections that brought President Ange-Félix Patassé to power in the Central African Republic.

Lo

- po

Richard is going to have to come up with some convincing arguments. No one yet knows whether he will plead budgetary to at a time when th French army is about to turn professional, or argue that all lefence agreements between France and a large number of

Times bave changed since those countries gained independence, and real politik auggests that it would be in France's best interests to concentrate on the need for such a review.

Although it will not get unanimous approval from the African countries affected, this redefinition of military ties is a precondition if France is to carry conviction when it talks about a shift in its Africa policy - n move that has often been mooted in the past but has never so far been initiated.

(July 20-21)

French towns put children under curfew

/incent Hubé

C INCE July 7, five French town bam curiew on children under 12. Several members of the overnment have criticised the neasures. The schools minister, Ségolène Royal (Socialist), and the routh and sports minister, Marie-George Buffet (Communist), exressed their hostility to the idea in he July 20 issue of Le Journal du

Oimanche. "Children aren't dogs," loyal. "Certain mayors are trying to earn themselves some cheap publicity as security hardliners, but reors would do better to ask them- tended the upper age limit to 13.

their own in the streets at night, so | Codron, says: "We believe it defies problems solved."

spond to a social problem by issuing orders that aim to make already destabilised families feel even more The first to react to the mayors

decisions was the interior min Jean-Pierre Chevènement. He denounced "hasty measures which are perhaps not perfectly suitable".

Dreux, near Paris, was the first council to impose a curfew on children. Sorgues, in Provence, Aulnaysous-Bois, on the outskirts of Paris, and the towns of Glen and Sully in sponsibility for children of that age lies with their parents. Rather than Claude Abrioux, the neo-Gaullist issue banning orders, [such may mayor of Aulnay-sous-Bois, even ex-

scives why certain children are on His first deputy mayor, Gérard

they can be helped and their family | common sense for parents to allow their children to hang around on the Buffet said: "One shouldn't re- streets at night." The order in months.

> The neo-Gaullist mayor of Gien, lean-Pierre Hurtinger, has introduced the curfew for the next six months. Police will be in charge of escorting children back to their parents. Unlike the system introduced taken to a police station.

Supporters of the curfew point to the increase in juvenile delinquency, particularly among younger children. Recent cases of paedophilia have also been cited: the mayor and deputy of Dreux, the neo-Gaullist Gérard Hamel, intends to protect children's "physical and moral integrity".

Hurtinger says: "This order is not

repressive. It should be seen rather as a helping hand to parents who nave abdicated their responsibilities

Picking up children who break the curlew will not be easy. The National Union of Uniformed Police (the best-represented union in the about "the extra hindrances to the eccomplishment of policing tasks".

But the main limitation to applying the curfew is the law. On July 18, at the request of the prefecture of the Eure-el-Loir département, an administrative court in Orléans ruled that the Dreux order should e suspended, since it was a measure "likely to compromise the exerrise of individual liberty".

The Vaucluse prefecture has also called for a suspension of the order in Sorgues. Meanwhile the mayor of Dreux has lodged an appeal against the Eure-et-Loir prefecture's decislon with the Council of State. (July 22)

are a collection of the

Keith B. Richburg

peace and prosperity.

OUTHEAST Asian foreign

ministers last week held a 30th anniversary meeting

intended to showcase the region's

But the two-day session of the

Association of Southeast Asian Na-

tions (ASEAN) closed with anxiety

about attacks on local currencies

confusion over how to deal with a

coup in Cambodia and concerns

about a dispute with Washington

over its decision to admit Burma to

the group.
The Cambodian situation domi-

in Kuala Lumpur

Anxiety Clouds

ASEAN Meeting

Quasi-slaves emerge from the shadows

Michèle Aulagnon

reports on the harsh lives of some domestic workers in France

HE veil of silence that has shrouded the predicament of some immigrant domestic workers in France is beginning to be lifted. These workers, who speak poor French and have no residence permits, do unpaid work in appalling conditions, in most cases for compatriots. They are often brutally treated and illegally confined.

Until recently the victims were hidden from view by their employ-ers and therefore unknown to officials, police or the social services. Those who managed to describe their plight to the authorities were usually deported, in accordance with legislation on illegal immigrants. Their employers, many of whom enjoyed diplomatic immunity, were unassailable. What weight does the word of a maid carry

against that of an ambassador? In March 1996, a young Eritrean maid was rescued from the home of a Lebanese diplomat posted in Paris. Mehret Kifle had been working long hours for several months without pay, had been forced to hand over her papers to the diplomat, and had been confined to his flat.

The France Committee against Modern Slavery (CFEM), an association set up in 1995, was responsible for rescuing her. Her employer was sent back to Lebanon, and Mehret, who now lives in France, received

"With the centenary of Victor Schoelcher's abolition of slavery coming up in a year's time, intolerable practices persist," says journal-ist Dominique Torrès, who founded CFEM. "The people we're talking about are probably far more numer-ous than is supposed. Until we set up the committee, we were told such things didn't exist in France." CFEM has already dealt with 10

cases. Half a dozen have been referred to the courts, but so far no trials have taken place. The victims are mostly women who came to France from developing countries to escape poverty. Their pay is much lower than the French minimum

wage, but much higher than what they could earn back home. How-

wealthy. Marie-Laure, a young woman from the Ivory Coast who came to France at the age of 14, was enslaved by a working-class family of compatriots. She escaped and now lives in a hostel for young women. A preliminary inquiry into her case was opened on June 30.

Bernard Mertz, the lawyer who has been dealing with the case, says victims are unable to assert their rights unaided. "They can lodge a complaint even though they are illegal immigrants, but many are reluctant to do so for fear of being deported. When a case like Marie-Laure's is exposed, the wheels of justice are set in motion. But otherwise these foreign maids are regarded as a bit of a nuisance."

Things get more complicated when the employer enjoys diplo-matic immunity. The French foreign ministry tries to settle matters, usually out of court. In theory, all embassy staff get residence permits. But the system does not always work properly. A ministry spokesman says 90 per cent of embassies treat their staff properly: "We guar-antee diplomatic immunity, but it's also our job to get the message across that it doesn't entitle those

who enjoy it to do as they please." The ministry can demand an explanation from the ambassador concerned and, if the case is extremely serious, request him to leave the country. One of the difficulties is to get employers to realise they have done something wrong. "Employers don't realise how grave their offences are," says Bernard Sexe, a ministry official. "Some even claim they're giving the girls a chance by

bringing them to France." Charline, aged 29, is a Madagascan from a poor background. She came to Paris in 1992 on a student visa to work for the daughter of her employers in Madagascar, a prominent family with government connections. Her two sisters, Célestine and Mariette, were already in France also working for children of her previous employers. Back home, their parents also worked for the same family.



'It's getting harder and harder to hide good servants these days.'

enough to bring her daughter to papers weren't in order. We've since France for medical treatment — lost touch with her." soon turned into a nightmare. She was shut up in the house and had to look after her employer's three sons. Her day began at 8am and ended at midnight. She had to sleep on the floor. Her promised salary of 200 franca (\$33) a month never ma-

The three sisters demanded their assports and wages. Célestine was the first to flee. She was taken in by a compatriot, Sahondra Rakotobe, who put her in touch with the Reverend Solofo, of the Madagascan congregation in Paris.

"We tried to find a solution for the three sisters, who had undoubtedly been maltreated," says Solofo. "Their employers agreed to send Célestine back to Madagascar and promised to return their passports. When Céles-tine arrived in Tananarive she was jailed. It was claimed she had been caught stealing. She has since been released. Mariette and Charline never got their papers back."

In November 1994 Charline escaped and contacted the Madagascan embassy. "She came with some churchmen," says an embassy spokesman. "We sent her to a hoste for Madagascan students. She couldn't at that time lodge a com-

In April, CFEM published a letter in the Madagascan press and named her employers. The three eisters were first suspected of trying to make money out of the case, then of fomenting a political plot. Pressure was put on Mariette, who asked CFEM to stop handling her

In early June the interior ministry promised to treat Charline as a "special case" and give her a one-year residence permit. A further attempt at conciliation with her employers failed, and in mid-June CFEM brought a case against them. They in turn are considering legal action on the grounds that she tried to extort money from them.

"My clients have been pressurised and threatened," says their lawyer Olivier Hillel. "It's odd that the opposite party has been trying to negotiate, for if their accusations are as serious as they claim, there is nothing to negotiate."

Charline says that she wants to stay in France, attend the court proceedings and get the money she is owed. Solofo is trying to get her former employers to promise that there will be no retaliation against her family in Madagascar.

journalist wins award Nicole Pope in Saray

Jailed Turkish

HE media flocked this web: L Saray prison, 120km from L tanbul, to attend the presentational an international award for pas freedom to Ocak Islk York Yurteu, who is serving a 15 years sentence for having edited a to Kurdish daily, Ozgilr Cines received the award from a dele ation of foreign journalists let le Terry Anderson, a former lies States hostage in Lebaron, cl Peter Arnett, a journalist with (3)

They were accompanied in Robert Ménard, of Reporters & Frontières, and the Turkish whe Yashar Kemal, The delegation is trying to obtain the release of their journalists who are now belt it v

The prison governor even bide

refreshments for the visitors wit

was a prison warder who hand

over the wreath of flower to

Yurtcu. The jailed journalist sid

"I'd like to share this award with!"

those who fight for press freshe

not just in Turkey but throughor

Necati Nurdal, an official fo

the justice ministry, justifed to official line: "Turkey is a parisme

tary democracy and a state that of

erates under the rule of law. It

crime is contmitted it is puished. There are three groups in Turks

Marxist-Leniniats, separatists

fundamentalists. They all have it

same alm, of weakening den

cials in Ankara during the vit Anderson said he was extend

optimistic, as he had been promis

that Yurtcu and others would k

released very soon. The new pro-

minister, Mesut Yilmaz, has late

stated that the law whereby sind

are held responsible for what o

pears in their papers would soul

Menard, however, sald that's

kept promises are a real problem.
Turkey — they're not enough a want action. A test-case will as

show whether the recently how

government intends to keep

promises. A new session of theta

of those who allegedly best joint

following his arrest by police so

to open on July 24. Five policemen have

charged with murder, and see

ist Metin Göktepe to death

The foreign delegation met of

the world."

nated most of ASEAN's agenda as Turkish jails.

The brief ceremony at Same prison was a perfect illustration of the nine nations expressed uncertainty about how to proceed with mediation efforts to resolve the the contradictions of the Turisi political conflict between Cambodian strongman Hun Sen and his judicial system; on the one had: reporter was jailed despite interna ousted rival, Prince Norodom Rational protests, and on the otherts nariddh. Hun Sen had rebuffed reauthorities allowed the present gional ministers' efforts to arbitrate, tion, within prison walls, of a high calling the coup an "internal affair," profile award that was load a draw worldwide attention to a but he recently has taken a more conciliatory line, controversial case.

The nine foreign ministers vowing to continue their mediation efforts, seek clarification from Hun Sen as to whether such efforts are In Phuom Penh last week, Hun

Sen added to the confusion with a vague statement welcoming regional efforts to promote peace and stability in Cambodia, but warning against foreign interference into the internal affairs of Cambodia." The group, meanwhile, stuck by

is earlier decision to delay Camodia's admission to ASEAN, Mentbers did. however, allow Burma and Laos to join the group, bringing the number of ASEAN nations to nine.

Badawi added that the group's quiet pressure already has conit if she is uncomfortable." tributed to "some interesting devel-The ASEAN ministers also exopments" in Burma, such as moves by the junta to institutionalize some constitutional reforms, which Badawi said marked the first step

toward greater democratization. Badawi said he realizes that having Badawi said he realizes that having to shore up other currencies, Burma represented in ASEAN puts particularly the Malaysian ringgit, Albright in a difficult position, considering that the United States ranks the

The Washington Post

I nun lights incense at a Buddhist temple in Phnom Penh as the Cambodian capital tries to return to normality

Burmese government as one of the world's worst human rights abusers. But he added, "I con't help

pressed concern over recent specuative attacks that have forced a devaluation of the Thai currency, the baht, while forcing intervention by central banks across the region the Indonesian rupiah and the

midating other potential whistle-

Such an approach smacks of a

Bureaucratic dodges and games-

nanship have corroded the core

alues of America's only true secret

service as fundamentally as the loss

of the Soviet enemy has clouded its

It is time for Congress and the

White House to investigate this

idea: Sharply pare down the

\$3-billion-a-year agency and concen-

trate its efforts on analysis and on

vision of its future.

The group blamed the regional airrency crisis on a "wellcoordinated attack" by outside speculators and foreign currency manipulators, and Badawi said the attacks have "certainly disrupted our eco-

nomic progress."

The group, in a final commu-nique, pledged "further intensifica-tion" of efforts to coordinate a united response from the region's central banks to protect local currencies. But the yow failed to include any specific plan.

OPINION

the messenger who brings unwel-

The messenger in Tenet's sights s Warren Marik, a former CIA officer who disclosed his role in the agency's failed effort to overthrow schemes and give orders seem to nterviews with The Washington Post and ABC Television.

Marik's story of the covert debacle, which cost at least \$110 million. should have triggered investigations by the agency, the White House and Congress of this particular operation and the future of covert action. Along with the Bay of Pigs in 1961, Iraq stands as the agency's most expensive and em-

Instead, Tenet has asked the Jusice Department to determine if in Rome. Marik violated his confidentiality

by disclosing classified information. | Marik, a 52-year-old covert operator Imagine Tenet as the owner of | who retired six months ago and the Titanic who greets news of the who spoke out in June hoping to get the agency to shift its strategy in luxury liner's sinking by ordering Iraq. Marik told me Saddam can be an investigation of the radio operaundermined if the agency re tor who sent out distress signals, engages in a long-term propaganda and you get the picture. In Washington's labyrinth of buand political effort, rather than bet-

ting everything on a quick silver-bullet coup scenario.

The new CIA director has asked eaucracy and secrecy, a policy failure operates like a shaky bank loan: If big enough, it intimidates everybody connected with it into silence he Justice Department to consider and inaction. Only foot soldiers like charges against Marik even though Marik risk being sacrificed, and prosecutions are rarely brought cases where other agents' identities, only if they pipe up. sources and methods have not been Those who draw up the grand compromised by the ex-agent. This

John Deutch, the CIA director who oversaw the Iraq debacle, is now comfortably back at MIT and defending the flawed strategy he chose. His deputy was Tenet, confirmed by the Senate last month as

The current London station chief, who played a key supervisory role in the Iraq failure, reached that exalted position after involvement the Iran-contra scandal and after failing to spot Aldrich Ames as a Soviet spy when he was Ames' boss

covert operations, including Iraq. Listen to veteran and independentminded agents like Marik instead of hounding them.

ack to work, Bob's career is at risk

Welcome to Clintonian Washington, Bob.

The House And the Tax On Tobacco

EDITORIAL

THE SENATE included in its balancing bill a modest, 20 cent-a-pack cigarette-tax increase meant in part to finance a children's bealth initiative and in part to deter smoking, partieularly among children to whom the 20 cents might matter. It is eminently sensible legislation good policy and, you would think, good politics as well. The Senate vote was 80 to 19; the president has embraced the idea. But the House leadership for what seem to us the worst o political and ideological rea sons, is resisting, and the tax was dropped from the combined House-Senate bill that is now the subject of White House congressional Republican nego-

Republicans are fond of saying you ought not tax behavior you want to encourage, only beluvior you want to suppress. Here is a deadly product, the use of which is one of the great public health problems in the ociety, a major source of disease, contributor to health care costs and cause of other kinds of loss. We have just gone through a couple of months of extraordinary negotiations between the tobacco companies and state attorneys general who were suing them, in which the companies acknowledged the harm that tobacco does and offered certain reparations. You heard a lot of speeches over those months about the evils of smoking, its addictiveness, the need to discourage it among children especially, etc. The Senate legislation would be a step in that direction.

But the House leaders are opposed to tax increases — it seems not to matter what kind and don't want to create what they say would be a new spending program (to reduce the number of children without health insurance) either. They also have the barest of majorities, and reportedly seek to protect Republican members from tobacco-producing states whose reelection they have convinced themselves a tobacco ax increase could threaten. If the choice is children's health vs. politicians' health, thus narrowly defined, perhaps the

The House folks say they may vet agree to a tobacco tax increase if they need the money, but not to add to the \$16 billion over five years already in the budget for children's health. They'd rather spend it on something cise - like what? A capital goins taxcut? The budget process is often pretty murky, but every once in awhile it produces a moment of clarity, a clear test of the members' priorities. This is one of those moments. The House Republicans are on the wrong

Italy's Mr 'Clean Hands' plans a comeback

Michel Bôle-Richard in Rome

A NTONIO DI PIETRO, the former investigating magistrate who hogged the ilmelight aduring Italy's "Clean Hands" operation against corruption in high places, is about to attempt a

He has never made any secret of his intentions since resigning from the judiciary in December 1994. In May 1994. Di Pietro was offered a cabinet post by the new prime minister, Silvio Berlusconi, but he turned it

Exactly two years later, he agreed to join the centre-left government as public works minister. Six months later, in November 1996, the man who had come to symbolise the anticorruption campaign became the focal point of a controversy and resigned amid a storm of

He denounced the "mon-

waged against him by those "who are trying to use me to discredit on the one hand the and on the other the government

After that, "Tonino" worked as a university lecturer, then a lawyer. It was widely assumed that he would form his own party on the right of the political spectrum. He was thought to be vaiting for an opportune moment to do so, having already formulated his 12-point political credo in December 1995.

In the end, Di Pietro decided this week to stand as senator for Florence on a centre-left Olive Tree coalition ticket. If elected in the autumn, he will replace Pino Arlacchi, an expert on the Mafia who has been appointed to head the United Nations Vienna office, which oversees crime

Rightwing politicians are

Di Pietro's decision, which

will be a test of his popularity — Florence is a rock-solid leftwing seat — caused a sensation in political circles. The former magistrate has not yet managed to shake off the accusations of "misappropriation of public funds" and "abuse of office" that

have been hanging over him. His decision has come at a time when accusations of corruption against him have redoubled, particularly from one of his former friends, the building magnate Antonio d'Adamo, who claims that Di Pietro took gifts including a car, a mobile telephone and a bachelor flat in

Di Pietro's detractors immedi ately suspected him of trying to secure parliamentary immunity. "If I'm charged, I'll not stand as candidate," Di Pietro retorted, while Berlusconi claimed that anyone else in his place would already be behind bars.

extremely aggricved at having lost a leading political light that they thought they had won over. Berlusconi had hoped to gain the support of the very man who had first got him into trouble with the law in November 1994. Many observers detect the

hand of Berlusconi in the fresh accusations now being levelled against the man who was once sworn enemy. The former prime minister has said more than once that he possesses important evidence against Di Pietro. "The party's over. Di Pietro is a paper tiger," accordng to Berluaconi.

Not everyone on the left is delighted at the prospect of Di Pietro joining their ranks. Both the Communists and the Greens think that he will turn out to be more of a nuisance than anything else. But whether he is elected as a senator or not, we can be sure the ambitious and controversial Antonio Di Pietro will remain in the news for some time to come.

(July 20-21)

Le Monde

others with complicity in the cis But 18 months after the your porter's death; none of the ras yet appeared in court 💃 (July 19)

Directeur, Jean-Marie Color World copyright by O Le Monde, Peris All rights strictly reserved

No Intelligence in Shooting the Messenger

agreement with Secretary of State

Madeleine K. Albright, who arrived

here last week for a separate series

of meetings with the group. Al-

bright has blasted ASEAN's deci-

sion to admit Burma as a member,

citing the repression of political freedom and human rights abuses

by the ruling junta.

En route here from the United

States, Albright said the decision to

allow Burma to join ASEAN marked

another break to the region's

progress," She added that, "Burma

may be inside ASEAN, but it will

remain outside the Southeast Asian

In a closing press conference, Malaysian Foreign Minister Abdul-lah Ahmad Badawi, who holds the

group's rotating chairmanship, defended the decision to allow

Burma to join and said that the

other nations of the region believe

that "constructive engagement"

with the junta is the most effective

way to move Burma away from

repression and toward democratic

The constructive engagement

relationship with them will con-

time." Badawi said. Having Burma

we have been able to express to

at the meeting table, he said, means

them what our concerns are."

Jim Hoagland

MARKING its 50th birthday, the Central Intelligence Agency needs bold, creative leadership to overcome its current ailments. In stead, new director George J. Tenet starts his tenure by attempting an old bureaucratic dodge: shooting

ome news.

bar rassing flop since it was founded

Deutch's successor.

Instead of tackling institutional agreement with the spy agency accountability, Tenet pursues no more than two or three vita

But Congress is as mute as the White House and the agency leadership when it comes to asking sharp uestions about the Iraq operation. There is a reason: The debacle in raq shows the continuing decline of congressional oversight as a check on mismanagement and misbehavor at the CIA. There is icing for this cake of in-

estigating the wrong people on the wrong charges. It will come in the Senate hearing into President Clinon's campaign finance problems. Republican senators want to know one at the Democratic National Committee made to a CIA officer that helped Middle East financier cynicism that eats at the soul of an Roger Tamraz gain access to the White House. agency that must above all else helieve in itself and its mission. The call went to "Bob," the agent

n charge of the failed military campaign in northern Iraq, agency sources tell me. Having sailed, through a perfunctory lie detector est on his role in Iraq and been put today not for his work on coup plots but his role in dialing for campaign

Linton Weeks

ROUND 1:30 on a Wednes-

day morning, shoppers prowl the aisles of a Virginia Wal-Mart. Photographer John

Fleener, 37, looks for allergy relief.

Robert Owen, 31, who just finished

his shift delivering pizzas for a Domino's in Fairfax, cradles four

bottles of apple cider. Denise Cooper, 34, tucks boxes of tooth-

An hour later at a Maryland

Kinko's business services center,

John Thompson and his wife, An-

drea, rework a presentation they will make on Thursday at Scotland

AME Zion Church, Another 20 odd

cusiomers are scattered about the

shop, "A lot of people do their day

work here at night," says the night manager, Roger Sindelar.

paste into her basket.

John M. Goshko in New York

AT ADELEINE KUNIN was a child of 7 when her Jewish family, fearing a possible Nazi invasion, fled her native Switzerland. She returned there last year as the ambassador of her adopted country, the United States.

Now, in a dramatic underscoring of how the echoes of a tragic time still reverberate, Kunin apparently has found her mother's name on the list of 1,756 dormant World War IIera accounts published last week by Swiss banks.

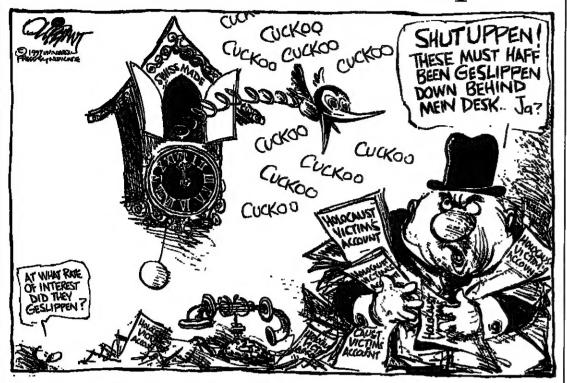
Kunin's mother, who brought her young daughter and son to New York during the early days of the war, died in Burlington, Vermont, in 1969. Kunin will go through the filing process set up by the banks in search of more information, an embassy spokeswoman said.

For Kunin — and for others who were less fortunate and lost loved ones in the Holocaust - publication of the list in 28 countries may shed a bit of light on previously obscured corners of their personal histories. For some, it also may allow access to assets — in most cases apparently of modest value — that belonged to long-dead relatives and have been hidden for more than a half-century behind the previously impregnable wall of secrecy imposed by Swiss banking laws.

But while publication of the list may fill in the blanks for a few, for many others - both Jews and non-Jews - it leaves unresolved their search for answers about the interaction of Swiss banks with their families.

These banks, which once had the reputation of being the surest guarantor of the safety of their clients' accounts, now stand accused of using the secrecy laws to keep the assets of Holocaust victims beyond the reach of their rightful heirs.

Although publication of the list marks the first step in an attempt to make amends, critics say there is a big question about whether the



The heads of major Jewish groups in the United States and abroad, as well as elected officials such as Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato, R-New York, have charged that the banks sought for years to minimize the number of accounts that might be involved and the total amount of money in them.

For a long time, the banks said there probably was no more than \$2 million, but the total in those accounts made public last week was estimated at \$42 million.

"It was part of a pattern of obluscation, a pattern of withholding . . that is 50 years overdue," D'Amato said. Thomas Lyssy, vice president of the Swiss Jewish Federation, asserted that "the credibility of the banks is shattered."

While the banks' actions are of considerable interest to international bankers and lawyers, most of the world's attention in recent days has been focused on the individual banks can restore their reputation stories told, or left untold, by the

As expected, there were Jews trying to save some funds and valuables from Nazi persecution. There were also people only peripherally involved with what was going on in Europe during the war years.

And there apparently even was a scattering of Nazi officials or collaborators putting away nest eggs in neutral Switzerland that might have included loot from Jewish victims.

In Israel, where there are more than 300,000 Holocaust survivors. Gretta Landsburg, a 52-year-old schoolteacher whose parents escaped from Germany to Israel in 1937, snotted what she believes was her mother's maiden name.

"Both my mother and my father are dead now," she said. "But I never knew my mother's or my fa-ther's family. They were murdered before I was born. Will the money make up for the suffering? Will it make up for having no family - no

aunts, no uncles, no grandparents?"

were destined to suffer new disapointment. Here in New York, Peter Bloch, 75, recalls vividly how in 1936 or 1937 his mother made a perilous trip to Basel, Switzerland, to entrust the family's savings to a distant relative there.

"In 1942 when I got to Switzer land, I wrote to [the relative] and he answered that he had no money beonging to my tamily . . . I looked at the list to see if his or my family name was there. But I didn't have much hope. He probably just took the money from my mother and put it in his pocket without ever opening an account."

The accounts included in last week's published list are only those that were opened by non-Swiss in the period before or during the war and that have been dormant since 1945. A much larger list of more than 20,000 accounts that were opened by Swiss citizens, who might have been acting as proxice for peo-Some who have searched for ple wanting to conceal their identi-

years for some sign of family assets | ties, is to be published in October.

Crime Soars **As Brazil** Police Strike Anthony Faiola in Recife

IN FIVE chaotic days in this

beachside metropolis, the day homicide rate has tripled Ear banks have been robbed Gags have run wild through a shoping mall and driven through apperda neighborhoods firing guns Andro one is obeying the traffic laws.

Recife, a city of 2 million in the poor northeastern state of Penas buco, is just one of several cities at towns across Brazil ravaged by a rash of police strikes that have caused a national crisis. Arm troops arrived here last month to keep the peace, but the 3,000 at diers have been unable to do theid of 18,000 metro-area police offices out on strike.

on hallway floors. Several pharms:

cies have been raided by bandis@!

"There has been nothing like this

tere in decades, since the days of

the military coup," said Roberto

Franca, justice secretary of Penan-

buco state, referring to a military

takeover in 1964. "This kind of ka-

The police strikes, which began

n June in the southeastern stated

Minas Gerais, arose over low page

and, in many states, fiscal ciso.

that have blocked pay raises. Rail-

and-file officers argue that they can

not survive on their measure

salaries. Here in Recife, the average

patrolman makes about \$286 t

take home 15 times that amount.

under Brazil's constitution, have spread through 15 of Brazilla 8

states. In addition to crippling the

northeast and southeast, they appear to be moving into Brank

southernmost states, home to the

country's most populous cities and

crucial industries, In Sao Park,

2,000 police officers and supported

marched last week, threatening

strike if their wages are no

Rio Grande do Sul state.

month, while senior officers offi

The strikes, which are ilegal

lessness is unprecedented here."

Meanwhile, all across the counry, people are dialing away in the "We are afraid to leave our home: wee hours to order freesia from we are afraid to be anywhere outco 1-800-FLOWERS, silk teddies from he streets," said Jaqueline And Victoria's Secret, canoes from L.L. 25, as she stood outside the Red-1 sean. And they are paying bills, morgue. "How can this be happen! danning trips and buying and selling? This is total madness." Kar ng stock on the Internet. brother was fatally shot by robber

As Ernest Hemingway toki Lillian at his home last week. Ross in his oblique way, "Time is the least thing we have of." Ameri-Since the illegal strike on vages began here last month the ans are finding ways to make of it crime wave has tested the limited the most. the morgue and flooded the layet, "Compared to Europe, the U.S. is state hospital, where guishot ai stabbing victims are stretched on

miles ahead in mining the economic value of time," said L. Michael flager, director of the International revelopment Law Institute in ome, who studies time as an economic resource He cited two reasons for Amer-

ica's preeminence: fewer legal restrictions on business opening aours than in Europe and the higher European social-welfare costs, which create a disincentive to hiring new amployees for night shifts.

Those observations were echoed the recent economic summit in enver where the United States bragged about its winning economic tyle. The U.S. representatives said e continental Europeans are mired n an antiquated system that protects existing jobs and businesses through rules, regulations and union contracts that stifle innovation.

"European traditions also thwart thange," Hager said. "For example, union says, applicants are told within an hour whether their rechange," Hager said. "For example, much of the small business in Italy is family-owned and operated. Exquest has been accepted. tending hours means going outside the family for labor, which is not the For the past three years, Columnorm. America, on the other hand,

is synonymous with new ideas, entrepreneurship and business competition." For example: Fitness buff

Ernesto Tey, 23, an employee at Speedware USA in San Ramon, California, likes to pump iron after midnight. "In a hectic and stressful day," says Tey, "knowing I can work out either early in the morning or late at night makes it that much casier to stay in shape." He frequents a gym run by California-based 24 Hour Fitness, which offers roundthe-clock facilities for weekday workouts at locations throughout the western United States.

In St. Paul, Minnesota, customers

bia Presbyterian Medical Center in New York has kept its computer room — with 16 or so terminals open all the time for night-owl medical students to do their research.

Sharon Williams, a Baltimore entrepreneur, founded a full-service secretarial support company in 1990 called the 24-Hour Secretary. For example, someone called at 3 a.m. recently and said he needed a report typed up by 7 a.m. He dictated. and the report was e-mailed by the deadline, spell-checked and professionally formatted.

And the Internet has opened up all kinds of possibilities for 24-hour activity. North Olmsted, Ohio, offers its residents a 24-hour town hall. Visitors can find building perof Highgrove Community Federal | mit forms, information on city ser-Credit Union can call a phone num- vices and a schedule of events. ber any time, day or night, to apply | Mayor Ed Boyle has a section

gether more than two dozen stores for dawn-to-dawn shopping. Sindelar, the Kinko's night man-

ager, put it this way: The United States is not used to waiting. In Europe, they queue up. Here, they don't.'

In the 24-hour society, the banking industry is encouraging customers to use what it refers to as "different delivery channels" move money around the clock.

Today more than 140,000 automated teller machines dot the U.S. map. Internet banking is available from about 90 percent of the counry's 300 major banks, according to American Banker, a trade publication. And more banking is done, at all hours, by telephone.

Bell Atlantic is so convinced that more people are taking care of business at all hours, the telephone company has opened a 24-hour customer service center in Calvertor

Maryland. "A lot of our customers cannot call us until they get home from work," spokesman Michel Daley said. Operators will be standing by to help folks buy a telephone. explain service options and de-cipher the monthly bill.

Other kinds of round-the-clock telephone services also proliferate: Flower sales. Counseling services

"Uncle Johnny" Jefferson Green of Dallas figured out that convenience was the key 70 years ago. He kept his Southland fee Dock open after grocery stores had closed. In the spring of 1927 the Texas iceman began carrying staples such as bread, eggs and milk, Eventually, all the Southland franchises followed suit and a new company was named for the hours they kept. The 7-Eleven stores are now open 24 hours a day.

"We're in a world that almost never stops," said Kinko's Sindelar People hardly ever sleep, espeially in this city. Washington is own of pressure."

Across the large room, drummer Mike Kanin, 19, and bassist Paul Selby, 20, of the band the Better Automatic pieced together an advertisement for their friend's 'zine, Selby said he loves the early hours. "The of fective population is reduced at night. I's good — if you're antisocial,"

During his 11:30pm-to-9aro shift. said Sindelar, some 100 to 300 tolks will pass through — people wanting everything from both automore ments to funeral programs. Therety one's under an enormous amount of stress and strain," he said. People used to wait for what they wanted, "but that attitude's changed"

And so the trend evolved - from i-Elevens to all-night diners, grocery stores and drugstores to round the clock office supply stores and discount super-stores to ATMs and call centers to . . . where?

Moore may be right when he says that there are some things people won't do on computers. But there are plenty of things they will do, and with the Internet, they can do them when they want to.

In the small hours at the Virginia Wal-Mart, cellular phone purveyor Eva Shorts, 43, and her son Robert, 22, wheeled a basket up and down the aisle. "We're night people," explained Shorts. "If there were other stores open, I'd go to them, too."

6

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Judicial Voice of Social Revolution

OBITUARY William Brennan

FORMER Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan Jr., the progressive voice of the modern court and a justice unequaled for his influence on American life, died last week. He was 91.

During his 34 years on the court Brennan pushed his colleagues to take on a variety of social issues and was widely recognized as the chief rights revolution. He was the architect of rulings

that expanded rights of racial minorities and women; led to reapportionment of voting districts guaranteeing the ideal of "one person, one vote;" and enhanced First Amendment freedom for newspapers and other media.

Brennan was recognized across the political spectrum not only for his legal mastery but as a defender of individual liberty and a voice of | ing of the Constitution not in the civility. Poor health forced his re- past but in contemporary life, prized chief justice by Warren E. Burger. tirement from the court in 1990.

of the man he succeeded on the compelled him to reach out to right the right, and many of the rulings lawyer, born April 25, 1906; died court: "One can agree with the perceived wrongs,



Brennan: prized individual rights

Brennan opinions and one may disagree with them, but their collective influence is an enormously powerful defining force in the contemporary life of this republic.

What distinguished Brennan was his ability to forcefully articulate a liberal vision of judging. It was a vision that found the essential meanBrennan was appointed to the court by President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1956, three years after Earl Warren became chief justice. And Brennan's unmatched ability to build consensus made him a central key participant in its most celebrated decisions.

He is considered the primary writer of the 1958 Cooper v. Agron in the face of mass resistance. Brentional challenges to a state's distribution of voters, a ruling that brought new fairness to the sharing of political power between rural and urban New Jersey Supreme Court.

America. He led the majority to bolster the right of free speech, including a 1964 opinion that requires public figures who sue for libel to prove "ac-

tual malice" on the part of the media. When Warren was succeeded as Irement from the court in 1990.

Justice David H. Souter has said

individual rights beyond what was and then William H. Rehnquist, the explicitly written in the text, and court began to move gradually to court began to move gradually to William Joseph Brennan Jr, from the Warren era were reversed. | July 24, 1997

But several Brennan decisions en-

Brennan was born in Newark on April 25, 1906, the second-oldest of eight children of Irish immigrant parents. His father worked as a laborer in a brewery and became a union leader and local politician.

Brennan received a scholarship figure in the Warren Court and a | to Harvard Law School. Upon graduation in 1931, he joined a Newark law firm, Pitney, Hardin & Skinner, practicing there until he entered the Army in 1942. While in the military, decision that forced school officials | he handled labor disputes on the to accelerate classroom integration | staff of the undersecretary of war.

He returned to his law firm an nan also was the author of a 1962 de- began specializing in labor law becision that permitted federal courts for the first time to hear constitu-Alfred E. Driscoll named him to the state superior court. Three years later, Driscoll elevated him to the

> Brennan's nomination to the high court apparently came as a surprise. He later said no one in the Eisenhower administration asked him a single question about his politics or judicial philosophy.

Joan Biskupic

Haiti's Misery Brings Final R.I.P-Off

Serge F. Kovaleski n Port-au-Prince

N THIS destitute country, not leven the dead are sacred. The capital's main cemetery — a maze of above-ground tombs in which the nation's poorest and its most powerful have been laid to rest — has been overrun by looters in search of

increased by at least 33 percent. Police also are prepared to sink in The army has been called on the the army has been cancelly a protect local government building protect local government building in four states but has met resister in four states but has met resister not only from lawbreakers, but hose striking police officers. In the arm state of Alagoas, where eastern state of Alagoas, where it months, gunfights broke out it months, gunfights broke out it months, gunfights broke out it in black masks and wields in go of the most allocking signs of how desperate life is here.

Authorities say the looting began in earnest after international trade sanctions were imposed on Haiti in 1991. The measures were intended to pressure the country's military regime to accept the return of Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the president who had been ousted in a coup. But their most immediate and notice able effect was to drive up prices.

The sanctions finally were lifted to provide a dead animal. Things are were intended to pressure the country's military regime to accept the ent buildings

wreaths placed in memory of the dead that pillagers pluck and sell for quick cash, usually to other bereaved relatives visiting the same place.

The day after I buried my father, went to visit him, and his tomb was destroyed. They dragged his coffin out, ripped the handles off and stole the shoes right off his feet," said

power in the Presidential Palace. At the time of the American occupation, hopes were high that the

Read all over . . . More and more people in the United States are seeking services - from business to

country's economic situation would improve. But a turnaround has yet to materialize, and authorities say more people are resorting to theft, including preying on the dead, as bronze and iron coffin handles, gold there like a dead animal. Things are teeth, jewelry, clothing and what so dire in our country that you can't among Haitians that the country is the was sitting in the fr

> Municipal officials said the criminal activity in the publicly run cemetery is disturbing not only because it shows a callous disrespect for the dead, but because the scattered bodies can spread disease in a city sanctions were imposed on Haiti in already ravaged by debilitating

"It is becoming a serious health problem," said Louis Maccena, assistant director of the mayor's social

The cemetery was once one of the most hallowed grounds in this capital, where families would peace-fully promenade past rows of elaborately decorated tombs and pay

It is also the resting place for some of Haiti's most infamous leaders, including longtime dictator Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier,

PHOTO, I. E/TH CARDWELL

whose crypt also has been looted. Maccena said it is difficult to keep looters out of the cemetery because the wall ringing it is low and easily scaled at almost any point. City officials said the number of armed security guards patrolling discontent mounts over the rising | the grounds has been increased Solange Justin. They left him out cost of living, astronomical unemamong Haitians that the country is he was sitting in the front office.

Throughout the tangle of mausoleums, people eager to earn money performing repairs — some of whom authorities believe are also responsible for the looting — ronned freely, as did beggars soliciting mourners in funeral processions.

Near the front gates - and not far from a cross associated with the voodoo spirit of the dead, Baron Samedi - a corpse lay in thick weeds, its casket aniashed to pieces and stripped of metal fittings.

Authorities said that casket handles, which can cost more than \$100 in funeral parlors, are the targets of choice for thieves, who resell them for as much as \$20 — a substantial sum in a country where the average patching up the holes," he said.

per capita income is estimated at less than \$250 a year.

There have also been instances in which entire caskets have been emptied, carried off and sold to newly bereaved families.

But bereaved families have begun taking matters into their own hands to protect the final resting places of their loved ones. A number of the tombs, some of them multi-story structures of marble with sliding glass doors, are secured by large steel gates latched shut by padlocks.

. Others have been more crudely repaired or resealed, their blud geoned facades scaled with rocks, paper, cloth, grass or whatever else was available at the time. Still other damaged tombs are emblazoned with the word "Reparacion," indicating they are still in need of work.

There is misery in this country, and people will do anything for money, even if it means stealing from the dead," said one of the many unofficial repair hands at the cometery, who claimed he is paid roughly \$2 for each form he fixes.

There is money in looting, but there is also money in putting coffins back in their place and Claire Messud

COLD MOUNTAIN By Charles Frazier Atlantic Monthly, 356pp. \$24

ONTEMPORARY fiction continues to tackle the Civil War because its ramifications are ubiquitous still: That brutal conflict marks the watershed of American modernity, as the First World War marks Europe's. Significantly, Charles Frazier's rich first novel addresses that watershed not only in its themes but in its very structure. Cold Mountain comprises the

interwoven narratives of a Confederate soldier named luman and his intended, a young woman named Ada Monroe. Wounded at Petersburg and transferred to a Tennessee hospital in the summer of 1864, Imman deserts and heads for his home in the mountains of North Carolina, a journey fraught with adventures and pitfalls.

Meanwhile, Ada, the well-born daughter of a Charleston minister, struggles to reconstruct her life after her father's death, opting to remain at their remote farm rather than return to the city dependent upon her father's friends. Joined by a tough local girl named Ruby, Ada comes to value nature and its gifts, the fruits of hard labor and the intensity of the seasons. As the lovers' reunion approaches, both are aware of their internal (and external) transformations, irrevocable changes that reflect those of the country in which they live.

Their stories, in spite of the overlapping menace of the war, are very different. Inman's is emphatically picaresque, a progression of grotesque and fantastic encounters reminiscent of Fielding or Richardson. He saves a woman from a murderous preacher, he falls into the clutches of a bloated fellow named Junior and his harem of sluttish women, who turn him over to the Home Guard; he takes refuge in the home of a frail widow and saves her erals. Inman moves through these | Ada observes a heron, he notes that | the title, is the novel's true core. and her infant from marauding Fed-



dventures like a cipher, alternately a hero and a victim of action.

Ada's chapters, focused on the farm and her reflections upon it. and upon her growing friendship with Ruby, form a more contemporary tale, the exploration of a woman's psychological development in communion with the stable but seasonal natural world in which she is immersed. Ada and Inman's union is, in a sense, the literary confrontation of history and the present. Readers impatient with the relentless linearity of Inman's progress will find respite in Ada's oncentric growth, and vice versa.

Throughout, Frazier has adopted an antiquated style to authenticate the 19th-century Southern world. His locutions sound unnatural to the contemporary ear - "There was scant humidity in the air for a change and all the colors and edges of things seemed crisp beyond the natural" - and his vocabulary thrills in its oddity. He has captured his characters' lost quotidian speech, and the novel's pages are peppered with words such as "hin-

nies," "spavins," and "taliped". This rhetorical analepsis alone makes Cold Mountain an exciting work of fiction, but Frazier's prose, consistent and precise, goes further. He writes evocatively about the region's flora and fauna and about man's relationship to it. When

"the beak of it was black on top and yellow underneath, and the light shone off it with muted sheen as from satin or chipped flint". When Inman encounters a catfish, Frazier records: "It was stout as a tub. It was ugly in the face with its tiny eyes and pale barbels run out from its

mouth and wagging in the current." The use of plants for medicinal purposes, the calculation of time and seasons by the movement of the stars, the foraging for and preparation of food - all are conveyed in meticulous detail. Cold Mountain delights, above all, as an exceedingly free natural history, in which Frazier's characters learn and live y their surroundings.

What disappoints, in this fine debut, is its cinematic conclusion, a carefully contrived display of the bit-tersweet. It is an ending that relies unabashedly on the conventions of romance; and while Frazier has drawn on other literary conventions - the picaresque and the psychological novel - one might have hoped that their daring conflation would produce a less predictable result. This said, the fate of Frazier's protagonists is not, perhaps, so important. He notes that "Inman had seen so much death it had come to

seem a random thing entirely", and the narrative reinforces this. Ultimately, it is not the people who endure but the locale. Cold Mountain,

Sharet Carlo Callery

Universal Mystery

Joel Achenbach

THE WHOLE SHEBANG A State-of-the-Universe(s) Report By Timothy Ferris Simon & Schuster, 393pp. \$25

MBITIOUS physicists would very much like to explain away the entire universe, drain it of mystery, decode its essence. They'd like to finish once and for all the job begun thousands of years ago by astrologers, shamans, and lonely shepherds staring into the night sky. Ideally, physicists would hope to boil the iverse down to a few simple, aesthetically pleasing equations. They would like the universe to be something less than a miracle. "The task of the physicist is to see through the appearances down to the underlying, very simple, symmetric reality," Timothy Ferris writes in his new ook, The Whole Shebang.

But clearly the physicists still have a lot of explaining to do. They have detected the expansion of the universe, with its implication that the universe was once exceedingly small, but there are still debates about the pace of the expansion, the age of the universe, and its ultimate destiny (dissipation? collapse?). They have a well-established quantum theory that explains how particles and forces interact on the smallest of scales, but which has so far been unable to account for the force of gravity. Haunting the entire process is the mystery of why there's a universe at all: Why is there

something rather than nothing? In the search for answers, cosmology has been merging with particle physics. To figure out the world of the very large, cosmologists have to understand the realm of the very small. This creates a challenge not only for scientists but also for the average lay reader of science books. Many of us may feel mentally prepared to go on a journey across the starry expanse of the universe but not necessarily down into the murky interior of the

Ferris, fortunately, is a compassionate and clever guide. As one of the planet's premier science writers, he knows that his job is not to try to

impress the physicists. Bravely letakes the reader into the esoterio realm of dark matter, "spacetim foam", and 10-dimensional super strings. His description of smerstring theory is extremely nimble "Strings are just curved space.

The central riddle of genesis—how can the universe have come into being, if, us Shakespeare put it, 'Nothing can be made out of noting? - is answered thus Even thing is nothing, in a sense, for all made of space, which in this conten means pure geometry."

One can sense that at times or Ferris is uncomfortable with the abstruse nature of modern cosmolor. as when he writes: "Readers who are marking their scorecards vil want to note that the neutralinois linear combination of the supersu metric partners of the photon, of a early-universe boson called the h and of the theoretical Higgs boson Make no mistake: Cosmology in

mains a field heavily shot through: with unilosophical speculation Ferris includes a playful chapter or theology, guessing that God would want to create a universe that was self creative, using life as a doing agent for reversing the dreamof entropy, the tendency for holds dissipate and orderly systems in Li

Theology spawned cosmologbut as cosmology probes of deeper into the mystery of thew. verse it tends to circle back to Last year John Horgan, a writer; Scientific American, published book called The End of Scene which contended that our genscientific achievements (the the of evolution or the discovery of a expansion of the universe) are aind us, that most future discoies will either be trivial or inekt to the world in which we live.

Ferris would contend others: No one even knows the biologic the universe or whether our is one coamos among an infinitely If there are more great disco-

ies to be made, Ferris word someone you'd want around but plain them. He's been insperie." cosmos now for two decades he seems to have it sussed out

Particle chase, page 22

Palestinians try to escape spiral of despair

Julian Borger reports from Ramallah on an economy desperate to evade Israel's squeeze

ALESTINIANS are anxiously searching for a way to make their economy shockproof. Concentrated in snull, easily isolated enclaves, it has proved far more vulnerable than its Israell counterpart to the crises which nunctuate Middle Eastern politics. The West Bank and Gaza Strip are

only just beginning to recover from last year's "closures" imposed by the Israeli government in retaliation for a string of attacks. In February last year, after two bus bombings, the army scaled off the Palestinian auomous regions and reduced the daily flow of Palestinian workers commuting to Israell businesses from 70,000 to 15,000 overnight.

Trade in raw materials and finished goods was also squeezed to a trickle and the knock-on effects in the teeming refugee camps and Palestinian towns were severe.

in a recently-published report, the United Nations estimated that the unemployment rate increased from 19 per cent to nearly 30 per cent, and per capita GNP in the Palestinian territories dropped by more than 8 per cent. The average Palestinian wage fell by a tenth over the same period, from \$411 per month to \$370, sufficient to cover 64 per cent of basic family needs. All the statistics reflect the fact

that the Oslo peace process has so far been economically damaging for the Palestinians. By demarcating alestinian territory, it has solidified the inter-ethnic boundaries and partially unhitched the Palestinians from the much stronger Israeli economy. Since 1993, their income as a group has shrunk by about a hird. This year, however, economic analysts are being cautiously upteat. Despite closures provoked by March terrorist attack in Tel-Aviv, the Palestinian economy is showing signs of growth for the first time in nore than five years.



explode, 1997 looks like it will be a much better year than 1996," said Salem Ajluni, a UN economist working in Gaza. Some forecasts suggest a growth rate this year of 8 per cent.

A partial reason for the better performance is that the March closures were relatively shortlived. The average daily flow of Palestinian labourers into Israel has been 37,000 so far this year, compared with 22,000 last year.

But the vulnerability to external shocks remains. Despite large sayings held by the Palestinian diaspora, there has been minimal nvestment in Gaza and the West Bank as a result of the chronic uncertainty.

Private investment has contracted substantially since the Oslo process," said Ali Khadr, the deputy World Bank representative based in Ramallah, the West Bank's commercial hub. "A lot of the diaspora are out there waiting to come in, poten-

happen in the next two years . . . what kind of government there's going to be, whether it will be part of Israel, or what kind of borders there are going to be." Another cloud over investor con-

lidence is the uncertain track record of Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority. The PA's hands were tied in terms of fiscal and trade policy by the economic annexe to the Oslo accords - which were designed to keep it in line with the Israeli economy. In the search for extra revenue Mr Arafat's entourage has involved itself deeply in trade, establishing monopolies in the import of petrol and construction materials.

The character of these companies is not very transparent. There is certainly a need for further examnation of the welfare loss involved." Mr Ali Khadr said.

There are several important developments currently being negotiated which have the potential to tially in large-scale ventures. But transform the investment climate, have its own airport and seaport, which could dramatically reduce Palestinian dependence on Israel.

Also in negotiation, and probably far closer to reality, is a World Bank and US-sponsored plan to build an industrial zone on the Gaza-Israel border, which would draw on Palestinlan labour with Israeli supplies and markets.

The trade-off involved in the socalled Karni-Muntar Zone is that in return for supervising its security - the Israelis would guarantee the zone would be "closure-proof".

Detailed negotiations on Karni-Muntar Zone, the seaport and the airport have continued in recent weeks despite the freeze in the peace process. However, the Israeli government has yet to sign off on any of the three projects, perhaps for the same reason the Palestinian Authority is so eager to see them realised - they would make the Palestinians far less exposed to eco nomic sanctions.

In Brief

ALAYSIA'S prime minister Mahathir Mohamad, has accused the US financier George Soros of being behind a sharp fall in the currencies of southeast Asian nations. Dr Mahathir believes Mr Soros is punishing Asean countries for admitting Burma as a member. Mr Soros denies the charge.

UROPEAN UNION competi-tion commissioner Karel Van Miert claimed victory in the stand-off with Boeing — and the US government — over the aerospace group's \$14 billion merger with McDonnell Douglas The commission gave its political blessing to the deal after Mr Van Miert obtained a last-minute concession from Boeing to drop exclusivity clauses with airlines.

ENDING by the UK's major banks surged by 13 per cent in June, providing new impetus for a further rise in interest rates. Meanwhile the strength of the pound has resulted in new export orders for small firms falling at their fastest rate for more than six years.

M EMBERS of Nationwide, the world's biggest building society, breathed new life into the mutual movement by voting against windfall payments of up to \$3,200 each, bucking the recent trend to convert to banks. Meanwhile the Royal Bank of Scotland is expected to bid around \$1 billion to take over Birmingham Midshires, Britain's fifth largest building society.

HE UK Serious Fraud Office has revealed that it will take no action over a \$150 million trading loss uncovered four months ago at NatWest's City nvestment arm.

AT Industries, the tobacco group, took time off from the rigours of US litigation over health laims to splash out \$1.6 billion pullding a presence in Mexico.

A LMOST 3,000 workers at General Motors' car factory in Detroit went on strike over working conditions and alleged

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

July 28 July 21 2.2188-2.2217 2.2609-2 2649 21.18-21.21 21.19-21.21 62.17-62.27 62.18-62 29 2845-2 2667 2.3054-2.3073 11.48-11.47 31.47-11.48 10.15-10.16 10 17-10 17 .0125-3.0153 3.0130-3.0154 Hong Kon 12.64-12.65 12.99-13.00 1239-1.1268 1.1221-1.1241 2,930-2,935 2.930-2.034 102 00-192,34 194.20-194.48 3.3938-3.356 3.3918-3.3947 New Zoeland 2.5612-2.5642 12.44-12.46 2.5410-2.5452 12:44-12:48 304.32-304.67 304.45-304.74 254.07-264.27 253.82-254.D 12.97-12.0g 13.04-13.08 2 4780 2 4B12 2.4761-2.4782 0335 1.6346 1.0776-1.6783 1.525B-1.5276 1.5252-1.5268 ECU.

Index down 2.0 at 4461.2 Cold

Index up 86.9 at 4842.8, FTBE 250

Puckish Humor From Behind Bars

Fred Hiatt

THE COURAGE TO STAND ALONE Letters From Prison and Other Writings By Wei Jingsheng Viking. 283pp. \$23.95

TI JINGSHENG, China's VV leading dissident, is in prison, and has been for all but seven months of the past 18 years. This book was assembled without his knowledge by relatives in China and admirers in the West, who implicitly warn the reader that we may find the book slow going. They are wrong. Despite all the limitations, it

makes for compelling reading. The limitations stem from Wei's circumstances. In prison from 1979 to 1993, he was sharply restricted in what he could write, and to whom. He could only allude to the tortures ! he was subjected to, the indignities of his living conditions, the deterioration of his, health despite his from writing a new constitution to youth, the loss of his teeth from mainutrition. He planned, upon his

philosophical letters into a more flesh-and-blood autobiography; but the regime did not give him time to do so before throwing him back in

Yet Wei's appealing character gradually reveals itself through these letters all the same; his intellience, his buckish nu born courage and, most of all, his reckless, principled compulsion to educate his jailers — that is to say. China's authoritarian leaders - on the necessity for democracy.

His capacity to make fun of himself is astonishing, and his tweaking of China's leaders rarely flags. "Life isn't easy for either of us," he writes to paramount leader Deng Xiaoping. "It's just that I am not the one making your life difficult, while you're the one making it hard for me." And when China's leaders appear not to be taking his advice - which he offers on every conceivable subject, designing an "energy-saving pressure cooker with timer" - he ex-

elease, to expand these largely | cuses them, writing, "You probably just overlooked it".

In fact, most of these letters were apparently never mailed. We can read the letters now only because, when Wei was offered his freedom in 1993, he refused to leave his cell without his file of sent and unsent correspondence - itself an almost ginable act of defiant courage. At the time, China was seeking to improve its image in order to win the right to host the 2000 Olympics, and Wei sensed his brief advantage. During his fleeting period of freedom, he spoke out as fearlessly as ever. And when Sydney, Australia, won the Olympic games, China's leaders threw Wei back into jail. No

letters have emerged since. Most of the letters in this book are addressed to China's leaders, since Wel was discouraged from writing to relatives but encouraged to comment on politics as (his war dens hoped) a valuable method of self-criticism. Instead, he deflates with a clarity and simplicity that an electrician in the Beijing Zoo. In It's still a good question.

stem from questioning everything and puzzling things out for himself. from first principles. "A lack of democracy is the principal reason for China's many problems," he writes. And: "The goodness or badness of a person's character . . . [is] not absolutely determined by what class he was born into." Revolutionary ideas, to be sure. Early on, Wei recognizes that the true danger in China is fascism, or national socialism - and that economic growth

ne will not wipe out that dang Like many of his generation, Wei had little choice but to educate himself. Born in 1950 to loyal, mid-level Communist Party cadres, he was caught up in the frenzy of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. Instead of entering high school, Wei became a Red Guard, a self-described "fanatic Maoist" who believed, at first, that the system only needed purifying. The injustices he saw as he traveled the country eventually led him to understand that the system itself,

not its imperfect implementation, was at fault. served in the army and worked as of letting people discuss properties in the Propert

1978, he wrote and posted har! famous wall poster. The Fifth! ernization: Democracy." His RY for individual rights in that see work was enough of a line China's dictators to land himis For years he retained mi wistful faith that Deng lov. would come to understand it portance of democracy. But 1989 massacre of peaceful of strators in Tiananmen Square could not contain his angeral

known that you were pre kind of idiot to do something like this," he wrote to Deng P you've long known that I clsely the kind of idiot who i main stubborn to the end Now Deng is dead and cessors seem as fearful s

truth-tellers like Wei. But am not clear on," Wel wrote his imprisonment, "is los be such a nuisance to

Britain stuck with a two-tier society

DEBATE Paul Johnson

OF ALL the things that have changed since Britain's last Labour government in 1979, probably the most important has been the growth in the gap between the rich and the poor. A new book, Inequaly la The UK, shows just how big ese changes have been.

The growth in the gap bet ch and the poor is unprecedented in recent times. In the mid-1990s, the poorest 10 per cent of the population lave incomes no higher than they did virtually two decades ago.

Over the same period, the income of the richest 10 per cent has grown by a half. The richest 10 per cent now control the same amount half of the population — each has just over a quarter of total income. his imprisonment, is locally an appropriation — each has nary person and an ignoral list over a quarter of total income. Buy like myself, even if the property of the property be such a nuisance to about a fifth. The shift in the distribution of leasters. Can they really be used to be such a fifth.

It is not a question of the South | and the labour market, and in the pulling away from the North, or of | failure of social security benefits, inthe English getting richer than the Scots. In every region, in every age group, among pensioners just as among workers, inequality has

By far the biggest underlying change has been in the earnings distribution. The highly skilled and highly educated now command vastly higher salaries than did their arts 20 years ago. The less skilled and more poorly educated are left to earn much the same salaries as their predecessors, or miss out on working altogether.

In fact, the picture is more complicated than that. The authors | for other government policies. As show that while the distribution of income and earnings has become of income as the whole of the poorer in spending has risen much less quickly. While the poorest now have no more income than the poorest in

the past, they spend rather more. shows the richest 10 per cent plex issue that is hard to measure. that inequality has spiralled up that inequality has spiralled up that inequality has spiralled up wards is not in dispute. And the

cluding pensions, to keep up with Given that tax and social security increases are off the political

with certainty, but the central fact public services are only going to be that inequality has spiralled up wards is not in dispute. And the Government continues to box itself. Steven Webb is published in an reasons for it lie in earnings into desperately, tight spending. Oxford University Press

algher incomes for some and low quality state provision leads to peo-

ple taking the private option; as a reagenda, the Government is right to sult, they're unwilling to pay higher be concentrating on education, training and other welfare-to-work policies in an attempt to come to terms with the problem. Does it matter? It doesn't look as poorer, they are just falling behind

everyone else. Well, clearly it matters when the Government comes to design tax and benefit policies, but it also has profound implications some people's incomes have risen fast, so have their expectations. A basic state pension, a basic National Health Service, a basic level of state education are unlikely to satisfy a growing group who can afford to provide what they want for them-

And increasingly it looks as

plans. As the richer start to opt out then we already have some evidence that they become less sup-portive of public spending and igher taxes. So we end up in a vicious circle -

taxes; this leads to lower quality state services and then more opt out. Additionally, once this process starts it can become much harder to Raising the basic pension for all now looks like poor value for money because many pensioners have substantial occupational pensions. One can imagine reaching a situation in which providing high-quality univer-sal health care looks hard to defend because so many rich people can afford to provide their own.

Knowing what has happened to the distribution of people's living standards is vital because much government policy depends on it. But getting back to lower levels of inequality is likely to prove very hard.

, inequality in the UK, by Allese Goodman, Paul Johnson and Steven Webb is published by

B EN D/





- A lively international community
- Guaranteed university accommodation
- 1 in-sessional and pre-sessional English language support
- Free residential orientation
- Easy access to central London

PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICER Nairobi, Kenya

Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF) is the world's largest independent medical emergency relief agency. We are seeking to re-open the position of Public Information Officer to cover our work in Estand Central Africa from Nairobi, Kenya.

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For further details and for an application form please contact: MSF UK

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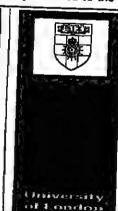
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GUARDIAN WEEKLY

and memories so horrific, so stained

in blood, they haunted their children

Neighbour turned on neighbour.

men slit the throats of their wives

and children to save them from rape

scathed had usually gathered just a

few belongings - they planned to

come back for the rest when things

They weren't to know it, but their

fate was decreed on July 15, 1947,

when the British House of Com-

mons voted to create two indepen-

dent dominions, to be called India

and Pakistan, in what had previ-

returned to normal. But virtually

none were to return.

and their children's children.

The day India's

heart was broken

Engineers are soon to bid to build the biggest machine in the world. Tim Radford reports

UROPE is about to announce an engineering Klondike: a gold rush for construction contractors. The 19 European nations who are partners in Cern, the great accelerator 100 metres below the Jura mountains at Geneva, are about to announce contracts for a new machine called the Large Hadron Collider.

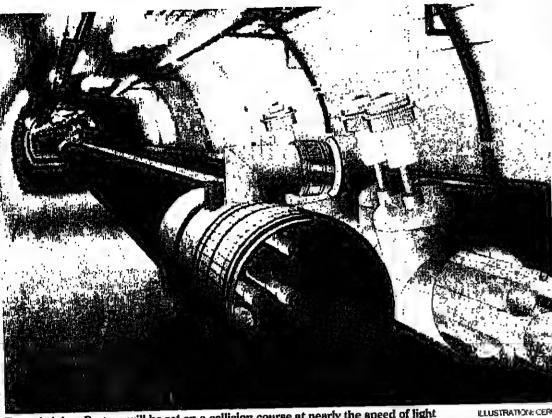
What the collider will do once it gets going in 2005 is enough to put an engineer into a cold sweat. It will consume 40 megawatts, the energy supply of a small country. It will take a hadron or proton — the hard, nubbly centre of a hydrogen atom - and wind it round and round Cern's existing 27km circular tunnel in one direction until it reaches a speed almost, but not quite, the speed of light. At the same time, it will spin another proton around the tunnel in the other direction. After a few hours, when the two of them are going as fast as they can go, the beam managers will arrange a headon collision.

This will happen 800 million times a second.

As each proton acquires more energy, Einstein's famous E-mcwill come into play. The mass of each proton will increase. When they meet, the two will explode in a shower of fragments that will "weigh" far more than the two protons did when they went into the tunnel. The fragments will, everybody hopes, contain the secrets of matter, and give clues to what happened in the first billionth of a second of time, when the universe was about 10 million billion degrees hotter than it is now.

There will be antimalter, and quarks, and maybe the gluons that make quarks stick together. But one rare particle in the ghostly. fleeting shower of debris from millions upon millions of collisions, will be - everybody hopes - a thing called the Higgs boson.

A science minister once promised bottle of vintage champagne to any scientist who could best explain, on a single sheet of paper, out six bottles in the end. Matter is stance, the protons — each 1,800 and defects in any crystalline struc-



Tunnel vision: Protons will be set on a collision course at nearly the speed of light

Higgs boson is what explains why condensed light has mass, why a brick is heavy as well as thick.

That's the theory. Theories are cheap. Proving them is expensive. That is why Ian Stagg, who describes himself as a Cern industry co-ordinator, labouring both for Britain's Particle Physics and Astronomy Research Council and for the Department of Trade and Industry, was last week wandering around with sheets of paper which add up to 2.5 billion Swiss francs (\$1.7 billion) worth of engineering contracts for work that began as thought experiments in the heads of Einstein and Lord Rutherford almost a

century ago. To put the big idea in another currency, the machine will cost \$2.2 billion and the detectors another \$840 million. And when the collider finds what it's looking for, not one person in a million will have a clue what it means.

The work is state of the art. Anybody who takes it on stretches technology and extends standards into a

rozen energy, condensed light. The | times smaller than a whole atom -have to be accelerated round a stainless-steel pipe in the middle of a tunnel hundreds of metres below the ground. The existing machine at Cern is so refined that engineers have to allow for the tug of the Moon: the gravitational pull of Earth's nearest neighbour not only causes a visible tide in the sea but it also causes one in the rocks. Only instruments like the Cern accelera-

> BUT THE pipe is only the start. The experiment has to be conducted in a vacuum. The vacuum is going to have to be to the ultimate standard: 10,000 times more evacuated than any vacuum so far on Earth. It is going to have to be as empty as the space between the planets. 'Years and years ago," says Stagg, "there was this crazy notion that you could build a huge pipe from Earth into space and tap into the vacuum. But there is an easier way to do it."

The piping around the vacuum has to be perfect molecules of air what a Higgs boson was. He paid new dimension altogether. For in- will leak through flaws, microcracks

ture. The pipes will be screwed together. But the scale of the operation creates new engineering problems: metal expands with changes in temperature, the very rocks that support it creep and flow with the Moon's pull. So someone has to provide a pumping system too, Stagg points out that when you buy a television set you expect the vacuum tube inside it to last the lifetime of the set: perhaps five years. "Your television tube is not 27km in circumference, it is about 27cm; we are talking about four orders of magnitude higher vacuum integrity. four times the lifetime of your TV

tube and 10,000 times bigger." There is another catch. The smaller the particle, the bigger, and the more sensitive, the machinery needed to accelerate it. So the protons will be thrown round the tunnel at more or less 186,000 miles a second by 8,000 superconducting magnets, some of them 16 metres long, each of which will have to be cooled to below minus 270C, slightly colder than the space between the stars.

So somebody has to supply 700,000 litres of liquid helium and eight 1,500 cubic metre stores to

keep it in. Somebody has to provide 12 million litres of liquid nilroger over a 15-day period just to cool the 31,000 tons of hardware down in the first place. Someone has to supply 40,000 leak-proof pipe junction. There will be orders for more than 50,000 tons of hot-rolled and oldrolled stainless steel, for thousand of kilometres of superconductor cable, for thousands of tons of high strength aluminium alloy, for 6 ml lion pairs of coil clamping often

for 30,000 copper wedges and

60,000 wedge chips and tips. The Cern engineers need femiblocks and magnet coils and mans cores and ceramic beam pipes to cuum vessels, capacitors, high power diodes, and so on to make the "kicker" magnets that will kick up tons round the loop. They will red njectors, power amplifiers, saidmode converters and DC comm transformers, fast switches, am resistors and filter capacitors. The will be work for joiners, and pipels gers and water suppliers, and fee proofers and some of the job is \$5 mybody's guess: features like tea cleaning" and "beam abort system" re marked; "In he defined ble

The prospectus should have billious businesses salivating the work is showense stuff, guarante by international agreement No = gle nation could possibly do the Cern has embarked on.

ously been the territory of the Raj. Cern is the biggest game in her Sir Cyril Radeliffe, a barrister and most players have never bee who had never even visited India. of it. That's why Stagg is marke, was appointed to head a boundary around with a brickase full of pacommission. That commission was rial, trying to spread the word To charged with dividing all the assets 2,000 engineers and managers? of the Raj - in just five weeks -Cern have to provide a machine to according to a formula based on feed the appetite for data of modemographics. Hindu India would than 6,000 physicists around to inherit 82.5 per cent of the territory, world. But the entire operation in while 17.5 per cent would become be pursuing a kind of particle or Pakistan, envisaged as a new homedle in a haystack as big as the thland for Muslims. The research is frontier stuff or The immediate explanation that division along religious lines was the failure of the Indian Nathe engineering. The detectors w count in nanoseconds: in billion. of a second. Because the smalltional Congress, the freedom moveafter bosons will peel off at very pcise angles from any collision to

ment led by Mahaima Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, to assure Musdetectors — bigger than some lims that they too would enjoy a stake in the emerging India. The fault line was an old demand for sepfice blocks — have to be placed to within thousandths of a million Precision science requires precisi arate electorates by the Muslim League, which was later espoused It is, says Stagg, the last fill by the League's leader, Mohammed rush this millennium. But mist Ali Jinnah, founding father of Pakione is up to the challenge. Tr stan. Congress opposed separate electorates; Jinnah decided the only are not in the business of superlatives on a regular basi h option was a separate Pakistan. says "this is probably not for you

Not that Britain escaped blame. ludian historians have accused the colonial rulers of sowing the seeds of division by introducing separate electorates in Bengal in 1909, treating Hindus and Muslims, for the first time, as separate entities.

By 1945, the rift between the League and the Congress seemed irreparable. India slid toward civil war. On August 9, 1946, 5,000 peo-ple were killed in Calcutta during a Direct Action day called by the Mus-lim League. By March 1947, the killing had spread to Punjab, fanned by the demands of Sikhs for a sta their own,

The bloodshed unleashed after the failure of Hindu and Muslim leaders to compromise - and by the British Impatience to reach a constitutional settlement for a transfer of power — was already well under way when Louis Mountbatten arrived in India in March 1947 as the last viceroy.

Mountbatten oversaw a final atempt to reconcile the Muslim league and the Congress. That failed too, and on June 3 it was decided that partition was inevitable. There were no obvious geo-

ALF a century ago, India and Pakistan won freedom a Pakistan that hovered on either from British rule, and milside of India like a pair of wings. His lions of people lost their homes and pen sliced through the burning their past, severed from a history plains of Punjab and the lush paddy shared by Hindu, Muslim and Sikh. fields of Bengal, whose eastern wing It was the biggest population ex-change in modern history. The mibroke away from Pakistan in 1971 to form independent Bangladesh. grants left behind a million dead

The result of the map-making exercise, which became known only on August 14, was a nightmare. A civilisation was sacrificed to a bizarre sense of order: so much for India, so much for Pakistan, right down to government tables, chairs and ink pots.

or enslavement. Those who did For the millions of people who dismanage the journey relatively uncovered themselves on the wrong side of the line, it was a living hell. At the stroke of midnight, they were exled forever, driven from their ancestral homes because of an accident of birth. For some unfortunates, such as the people who tell their stories below, the partition was re-enacted over and over again in a search for dentity - and for relatives.

Kartar Kaur

the villages of Punjab, the demons destroyed a way of life that was based on tolerance and peace. and the glossing over of deep inequalities beneath a placid surface. Nobody questioned why Hindus and Sikhs were traders and landowners and, by and large, well-off. It was just that that was the way it had always been, remembers Kartar Kaur.

Now a matriarch whose slow shuffle is a gift of arthritis and age, she moves between the houses in a neighbourhood of Patlala, in India's Punjab, as if each were her own, It was not so in her village of Ghug, which lies in Pakistan's Jhelum district, where the pecking order was firmly rooted in religion.

The Sikhs owned the land, and the Muslims worked the fields, a relationship that endured because of mutual need. Though the communities marked each other's festivals as a sign of respect, no Sikh would eat food cooked in a Muslim house. Their position was so assured, they could ignore the fact they were a minority in the village.

But that world fell spart in March 1947, five months before partition after a Sikh leader tore up the new flag of Pakistan in Lahore. When their Muslim field hands warned them that an attack was imminent, the Sikhs took a vow to fight to the



ever there is a riot, people turn into lemons," he says, "People go out of

noon, at least 90 men were killed in the Sikhs' last sland. Kartar Kaur lost Nanak Chand Alagh 32 members of her family, including

Thousands died in the 1946 Calcutta riots, before the partition of Bengal

who had gone before her.

lingers still.

stan is an alien place."

staves and they attacked me," he

says. "Someone cut my nose with a

Most of Hanan's Muslim neigh-

camps, and then onwards to Paki-

stan. Hanan never regretted his de-

cision to stay, but still a part of his

Pakistants, and most of his family

Hanan lives in another area of old

Delhi now, one that is regularly con-

rulsed by Hindu-Muslim riots. "We

became absolute enemies. When-

migrated.

sword so it was hanging loose."

her in his own home. Here Kaur's

vivid recall of events deserts her —

50 years on, her shame at taking

refuge in the house of a Muslim

Hajji Abdul Hanan

Hajji Abdul Hanan, born so long ago

her son, aged nine. When their at-In February 1948, long after the tackers withdrew, she wandered in a refugee trains, their human cargo daze towards the village well. Forcrying out for water and nir from getting for a moment the two small windows obscured by bodies and laughters who were spared with her. luggage, crawled slowly across Punshe was going to jump in and drown jub, Nanak Chand Alagh decided to herself. But the well was already full go home. A Hindu, his homing inof the corpses of the young women slinct defied all the prevailing logic; the village of his birth was now in A Muslim neighbour dragged her Pakistan, neur Peshawar. back from the brink and sheltered

Alagh, a doctor serving with the Army Medical Corps in Iraq, ignored the warnings of fellow Hindu officers, all of whom opted for India. On demobilisation he arranged for transport to his village of Hassan Abdal to look for his family. Their home was deserted, as were all Hindu homes, and Alagh soon realised he was no longer welcome.

A few days after his arrival there were rumours that the killings had

Alagh: no place to call home

son so long as he adopted Islam. Nanak Chand Alagh became Sheikh Abdullah ul-Qadri.

"I didn't have any faith in Islam but for the sake of my life I converted myself." He married his saviour's daughter and they had two sons. With his father-in-law's bely he set up up a small hospital.

But the village of Hassan Abdal no longer felt like home. He located his sisters in New Delhi. He came on a visit and decided to stay, abandoning his wife and children and his Pakistani existence.

The authorities refused to make him an Indian citizen; and when war

He was set loose at the border, wandering for three days in the desert before he was again arrested, this time by Pakistani border police. Alagh spent the next eight years in a Lahore jail as an Indian spy before he was pushed across the frontier again.

By the time of his return to India, ac had forgotten everything he knew as a doctor and found a welcome only among other outcasts Now aged 85, Alagh has a threadbare existence as the caretaker of a Dalit (formerly untouchable) temple in the town of Patiala on the Indian side of Punjab

Milkha Singh

But these are not the stories that modern India likes to tell itself. For if partition left a sense of overwhelming loss, its pain has been blunted by the material success that followed. Most of the migrants from Bengal, Sind and Punjab disdained the label "refugee", taking pride instead in their determination to rebu**il**d their lives.

Among them, few had so speciacular a rise as Milkha Singh, aged 65, who was born to a Sikh family in the village of Gobindpura which ended up in Pakistan. Only eight of his parents' 13 children survived beyond infancy, and Milkha was so poor he used to go barefoot to school. "The sand was so hot, I used to run for a patch of grass and stand there for a minute. The soles of my feet were as hard as a rock."

On August 15, 1947, the Muslims of the village, who were more numerous, demanded their neighbours convert or die. The Sikh villagers gathered in the temple and the teenage Milkha ran for help. By the time he returned, with an elder brother who was serving in the army, everyone was dead.

He took a train to India, where he New Demi railway station There were bodies lying on the tracks and at the roadside on the way. and at the station there was plague."

He was accepted into the army engineering corps, turning up for his first roll call as prizes were being handed out for an athletics competition. Milkha was entranced in the village there was no notion of sport — and hostarted to run, secretty at first, and will batwicht...

His talent was soon recognised. in 1986 he was part of liciteam for New Delhi, wasn't home either. The Melbuurne Olymph's, He was The authorities refused to make him the first indian to take a gold in athcontrol in three minutes, but it takes | broke out, with Pakistan in 1971 he | and in 1960 marrowly missed a letics at the Commonwealth games, brouze in the Rome Olympics.

Caught in the sticky trap of bureaucracy

LOS ANGELES DIARY **Christopher Reed**

DECENTLY I volunteered to teach the youthful hard cases at my local youth detention centre how to write a sentence, rather than serving one. But the centre wanted a background check so intrusive I withdrew

My experience was not exceptional. Applicants for even the humblest jobs are now routinely subjected to outrageous infringements of their privacy rights. which are enshrined in the US constitution's fourth amendment. My reaction came from the knowledge of how easily personal information can be misused.

The county probation department's form asked me to authorise officers to "obtain any

information in your files pertaining to employment, credit or educational records, including, but not limited to, academic achieve-

ment, attendance, athletic, personal history, performance report, background investiga tions, polygraph examination results, any and all internal affairs investigations and disciplinary records, credit records, and criminal justice records/reports, eg, arrests, detentions, field citations and interviews, officer records, iall/custody booking records. traffic citations and accident reports, probation/ parole reports

and any other information." They wanted permission to release any information to name less "third parties"; and, of 29 personal questions, only three related to being a volunteer. Who did they think was on

probation? I was lucky not to be fingerprinted as well; it has

This year the FBI expects 14 million fingerprints to be checked against their archives. up 3 million on last yea Candidates who must submit include teachers, bank customers, driving licence and credit card licants, lottery employees, applicants, lottery employees, child minders, school janitors, nursing home workers and anyone entering a high security

Prints are a must for foreigners seeking citizenship of the sweet land of liberty". In the case of Pushp Grover, an Indian-born clerk who has lived in the US since 1970 with no more on her record than a \$10 speeding ticket, it has been a trial of loyalty. She has been fingerprinted 11 times and each

time they came out blurred, but the computer - and the bureaucrats who control it — keeps rejecting her application. Has she not thought of adopting another

The authorities argue that the honest have nothing to fear. This is not true, partly because the entire security competent, and the information falls into the wrong hands. Stories proliferate of people losing their identities to predators. By giving away only their name and social security number citizens have found themselve

being impersonated by a thief. One woman recently found that she had acquired a new \$22,000 Jeep, five credit cards, and a \$3,000 loan. Nice, except that she had ordered none and couldn't afford them. Another woman, using information lifted from personal questions on her job application form, had stolen her identity. It took months to

regain her identity and shelfs unwanted debts. California's senator Dimm

Cern is at www.cem.ch/lan599

is at lan_Stagg@pparc.ac.ut

hardware.

Feinstein is seeking legislede to curb ID thefts. To test the validity of her complaint, a Newsweek reporter called search firms via the intend All he began with was Ma a's name, but for les than \$100, he soon had be social security number, be directory telephone number addresses at all five homes. credit report, details of in and her bank statements. The authorities knowing

snooping, because they are ashamed. They avoid its had fingerprinting and use hide euphemisms. One banking quires thumb prints from customers seeking to call Up Identification Program Phooey. I say thumbs don't the whole authoritarian, nosy, emerging police state

Outnumbered on a spring after-

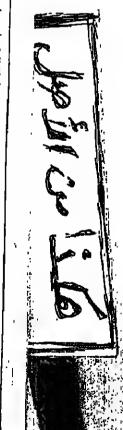
he treats the question of age with emusement, never had any doubts started again. He took refuge with about where his home was: the an-clent alleys of Delhi. I like these an old friend of his father, who lanes. Whether I am poor or rich, these lanes are mine. I grew up here, I worked here, my mother and father are buried here. That Paki-Like much of Delhi at the time. Hanan's section of the city was a mainly Muslim neighbourhood. When partition came Hindus and Sikhs, driven from their homes in what had become Pakistan, arrived unhinged by grief and a hunger for "People who wanted to come here were getting slaughtered," says Hanan, "and those who wanted to leave were getting slaughtered."

During a lull in the violence that spread across old Delhi, Hanan left his leather workshop to help clear bodies from the road. These people had knives attached to bamboo

promised to look after him like a

bours departed for the old Mughal forts, heritage sites turned refugee birtliright was stolen from him. Two of his 12 children have married

graphic boundaries, however, and Kaur. 32 family members died a long time to get back to normal. was imprisoned as an enemy agent.



Don't look now but the media is full of stories to make every parent shiver and to send us running to our doctors. Frank Furedi has had enough of this fear that eats our souls. Life is to be lived. And it doesn't bite

fore someone raised the spectre of some environmental peril posed by the construction of the Millennium Dome in south London. Warnings of impending disasters are now routinely made in relation to almost every proposed development. So when Greenpeace warned that the Millennium Dome will be poisonous and threatened to disrupt its construction, it was giving yet another expression to society's addic-

The transformation of the New Millennium Experience imo a threat to the safety of the people of Greenwich follows a predictable pattern. We seem incapable of embracing innovation or new experience without recasting it as a risk.

The fear of risk feeds on itself. And safety has become the fundamental value of the nervous nineties. Hardly a week goes by without some new danger to the individual being reported, and another safety measure proposed.

A flick through last week's headlines makes the point: "Green dome threat," screams the Mirror; "Hormone linked to breast cancer." booms the Times; "Don't send your children to Oxford, it is not a safe place," cautions the daily Telegraph. Even the daily Guardian is hooked on fear. "Nannies danger to children," it warned.

A wide network of charities and organisations has grown up offering advice on all aspects of personal safety. The trend, most clearly expressed through the institutionalisation of the helpline phenomenon, has made a major impact on contemporary culture.

"What are the risks?" and "what are the side effects?" are questions posed to an ever-expanding list of subjects. Such concerns are not merely expressed in relation to the high-profile dangers - BSE, nuclear radiation, potential environmental catastrophes. Every new product, from the mobile phone to computer games, is invariably put through an anxious calculus of risk. There is a compulsion to anticipate and pre-empt adverse outcomes.

The "what if" question has led experts to speculate about the special danger of abuse faced by children conceived by in vitro fertilisation (IVF). The absence of any factual evidence has failed to inhibit this search for the worst-case scenario. Reports have suggested that some potential parents are allowed to go forward for IVF treatment without | number of infant deaths in Britain assessing whether they could turn | halved from 12 to 6.2 per 1,000 live

In a similar vein, the Internet has been represented as a potential site for major calamities. There has been much press comment about so-called "cyber-terrorism" and the threat to society's moral well-being from pornography and paedophile rings. There is even a self-help group called Caught in the Net for those suffering from "Internet Addiction Syndrome".

Once a preoccupation with safety has been made routine and banal, no area of human endeavour can be immune from its influence. Activities that were hitherto seen as the sun — are now declared to be | number of cases in the United | become stigmatised as a health haz- | worst possible interpretation. In | just been published by Cassell

T WAS only a matter of time be- | major health risks. Moreover even activities that have been pursued precisely because they contain an element of danger are now reinterpreted from the perspective of safety consciousness. Pressure groups are demanding that new safety measures should be introduced in mountain-climbing.

> from fear. We fear that the lottery will turn Britain into a nation of gambling addicts. Fear drives parents to spy on their children's nannies. We fear that our children will be kidnapped by strangers. We are anxious about bullies in schools and in the workplace.

> Every bit of public space is saturated by fear. Security has become a major concern in hospitals, schools, universities and doctors' surgeries. In our cars we fear road rage. And even in the privacy of our homes we fear violent men and out-of-control

Research shows that although

Every parent of a young infant is plagued by the fear that cot death or Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS) might strike down their child. High-profile campaigns publicising the syndrome have ensured that the British public is highly sensitive — sensitised even — to this

Concern about cot death is a frequent topic of discussion among new parents. New mothers in particular often reveal a sense of powerlessness when confronted by the threat to their haby. And yet cut syndrome is ill-de-

fined and is used to explain any infant The culture of fear is a defining is no reliable explanadie from it out of the

A report published by Families

Panics about health risks have had a disproportionate impact on the quality of life of women. Toxic shock syndrome (TSS) provides a classic example of how a statistically nsignificant condition was turned into a major scare campaign which has affected the lives of millions of women. Public concern about TSS has led to significant changes in

No human experience is immune

anxieties about risk are often disproportionate to the real dangers facing us, they can have a major impact on the way we conduct our lives. Probably it is the smaller, routine mini-panics — not the sensa-tional outburst of publicity about flesh-eating bugs — which have most influenced changes in our

death for which there feature of modern Britain — and tion, on average fewer than 400 babies it particularly affects the young 688,000 live births every year.

For Freedom argues that it is "ironic that the concern about SIDS has arisen in the context of an overall decline in infant mortality". During the past two decades the health of bables is rising steadily, with doctors claiming that parents are becoming more and more anxious about the well-being of their

women's buying habits.

less than one a year.

States occurred in women using high-absorbency tampons - and it remains the case that tampon users

seem to be particularly prone. Yet nobody has established what the link is. Research in this area does not suggest a causal relation. Even pressure groups devoted to raising awareness about this condition concede that about half the re-

as are burns and gardening injuries.

TSS are not even tampon users.

Some women who are stricken with

Not only is the relationship be-

tween TSS and tampons far from

clear; this highly publicised disease

is exceptionally rare. According to

years up to 1993. Of these, just over

50 per cent were related to menstru-

are about 14 million tampon-using

menstruating women, the chances

of getting TSS from using a tampon

this year is one in 700,000. If you are

one of the unlucky few, a further

comfort should be that the illness is

curable. There were seven men-

strual-related deaths from TSS be-

tween 1985 and 1993; an average of

When one considers that there

A similar pattern is evident in young women's reaction to the oral contraceptive pill. In the sixties and seventies the pill was associated with women's liberation. Yet today, ported cases have nothing to do death is very rare. Even though the | with menstruation at all. Infections | following recent panies about the

pill's safety, women's magazines in Britain seem obsessed with its drawbacks rather than its advantages. The Birth Control Trust claims that since 1993 the use of

after surgery are a common cause, | the pill among women in their 20s - the age when they are most likely to have an unwanted pregnancy - has fallen by 10 per cent.

sanitary towels as a more "natural"

Sixty per cent of women who change from the pill to a barrier method are motivated by concern about health risks; yet the modern the UK Public Health Laboratory pill is safer than ever. Today's comis. And yet alarm about the | Service, there were only 162 re- | monly used brands contain a fracported cases of TSS in the eight | tion of the hormones used by women who took the pill in the sev- we are creating a world where of enties. Women's health is far more likely to suffer from unwanted preg-

nancy than from taking the pill. The culture of fear has had a particularly significant impact on women. But as the growing popularity of men's health magazines indicates, it has not left masculinity untouched. Take the spate of reports which suggested that the sperm count of British men was falling due to some unspecified pollutants. The evidence was far from the University of Kent. His book. Tampons, which were once a conclusive, yet society appears to Culture of Fear: Risk Taking and the

contrast, a report published in Feb. ruary which questioned the doom thesis and contended that "overall sperm counts have been on the rise since 1971" was barely discussed in

So why has this inflated sense of danger come about? Any attempt at an explanation must inevitable be schematic. But one factor at play could be a collective striving to make sense of the uncertainty created by tundamental changes in human relations. The weakening of traditional torms of solidarity tamily and class - has heren widely commented on. The consequence of this process has been an

intense individuation o

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

everyday life, forcing people into situations where little can be taken for granted. in a world ever more de void of certainty, hitherto unexceptional encounters an increasingly perceived as risky, Monkey even dangerous. It is a world of

strangers, where safety takes on a special meaning and where fear ac quires a dynamic of its own. Commercial factors may also b operating. There can be little doubt that the culture of fear has been seized upon by astute entrepre neurs. Products and services that are linked to risk avoidance are doing well. In the UK, bottled water has been the fastest growth sector in the drinks market while the per-

sonal security and safety industri are booming. Products are often marketed no for what they do but for the security they offer. So car phones are sold as safety devices to protect women who fear violent attacks driving home. Not to mention the insur-ILLUSTRATION DANIEL PUDLES ance industry which has been quick to offer a variety of new poliard. Apprehensions about using cies against an expanding range of them are particularly strong among risks from redundancy at work to a young women - an increasing probewildering variety of possible acciportion of whom are likely to favour

The culture of fear is a defining feature of modern Britain - and i particularly affects the young. This is not surprising since those who grow up in the eighties have been systematically exposed to the contemporary obsession with risks.

That is why young women at particularly prone to panies of the pill and TSS variety. It may also help to explain why a growing proportion of young men, aged 18-24, is opting to stay at home and live with the families, and why university grade ates looking for their first job are 90 keen to ask probing questions about company pensions.

It all sounds very sensible. But i young people, traditionally the most dventurous section of the popular tion, become more and more relatant to take chances, what future is there for society? Of course human beings, and es

pecially the young, will continue is live on the edge. The perimentation has become stigmatised; it no longer conveys a sense of adventure or heroism. Incress ingly, those who chance their lud stand morally condemned by putting others at risk. Instead of it hero we worship the survivor. And society that celebrates its ability survive has little to offer to the

Frank Furedi teaches sociology al symbol of freedom for women, have have been disposed to leap to the Morality of Low Expectation, has

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Letter from Northern Greece Daryl Tayar

Boom town's heat and dust

AST summer the geraniums | cheaper than in Britain and the doc- | of family shops — the butchers, the dust that fell each night. This is Ptolemaida, which was a typical Macedonian Greek village of mud-brick houses with vegetable plots and chickens until 1960, when the first lignite mines and power stations were opened. Today they produce 75 per cent of Greece's electricity, and Ptolemaida has a population of 50,000. It's a boom town, hot and dirty, rich and neryous, with more cars per head than any other city apart from New York.

This year Patricia has had bron-

chitis twice, laryngitis, and then finally full-blown pneumonia. Thankfully Andreas Papandreou's legacy of national health insurance has saved us. Prescriptions are much | hanced by the continuing presence | vast areas of Turkey that they con-

business as

DEERING into the eyes of a

a strange secret; a glimpse of our

Scientists now believe these grace-

tal cousins of the common chim-

panzee share many features with

australopithecines, a four-million-

According to Professor Frans de

Waal of the Yerkes Regional Primate

Centre in Atlanta, the pygmy chim-

pauzee, or bonobo, is probably the

best model we have of "the so-called

missing link". But as he stresses in

Bonobo: The Forgotten Ape (pub-

lished by the University of Califor-

nia), this does not mean bonobos

are the missing link. He and fellow

researchers merely argue that bono-

hos resemble more closely the type

of creature from which we evolved

As a result, when we look at these

creatures, we see features that have

changed only slightly over the past

six million years: diminutive stature,

It is believed that humans and apes

shared an ancestor about six million

years ago. Then the two lines evolved

in different directions until, three

million years ago, the ape line split in two. One led to the chimpanzee;

the other to a slightly smaller, more

comparisons between our behav-

iour and that of the apes concen-

trated on similarities between

chimps and humans. As a result, it

Recent work on the bonobo chal-

"Had bonobos been known ear-

tier, reconstruction of human evolu-

lenges this assumption, however.

was assumed that male

People's Republic of Congo.

graceful type of ape: the bonobo.

than any other living animal.

long arms and small brains.

year-old forebear of Homo sapiens.

pygmy chimpanzee may rewal

a science

ancient apeman ancestors.

Robin McKle

tors mostly excellent, as long as you avoid the state dentist, whose shops, the wine shops and the unbesurgery floor is edged with dead cockroaches. I saw him to get an opinion on a broken tooth, but when returned for the work to be done. the smell of shit at the door and the brutal sounds from within were ton

We are 150km from Albania. Some houses are faced with grey stone in a traditional Balkan style but three currently going up on our little street alone are four or five storeyed concrete apartment blocks. This means that a large population lives in a relatively small area. The

departed for the private sector.

much. I dumped my principles and

tishmongers, the many cheese lievable number of patisseries, ornate to the point of tackiness.

A high proportion of Ptolemaid-ons are children of the Greek communities who came from Pontos, Istanbul and Eastern Thrace in 1923, when more than 1,300,000 Greek refugees arrived as part of the population exchange between Turkey and Greece. These people came with little

more than what they stood up in and today combine pride in their distinctive culture with some awkwardness at being, so to speak, country consins. Many still dream sense of small town intimacy is ensider to be historically Greek, including Istanbul, which they, of course, call Constantinople. In class, my students' hatred for

the Turks is shocking, and their chauvinism runs from bewilderment as to why Greek is not the official language of the European Union, to the firm belief that English and indeed every other European language is but a small and barbaric descendant of Greek. Despite the pollution, the com-

plete absence of trees on the pot-holed streets and the ridiculous raffic congestion, the students still write essays describing Ptolemaida as a beautiful place. One poor lad, nowever, having dwelt on his love of fishing and his drewn of walking in meadows full of wild flowers, ended his composition by writing: "The sea is missing me."

One thing the town is not short of, with all the overtime at the power stations, is money. While the with prices that have skyrocketed since entry into the EU, in Ptolemaida they struggle only to find ways to spend money. Every night the Harley Davisons throb up and down the tight alleys that are lined with neon bars and thronged with

FEATURES 25

leenagers drinking cocktails or Scotch, Families spend and spend on interior decoration. Baroque chandeliers and walnut bureaux are commonplace. No one seems to care about the litter and the rats on the streets. The environment is just a place to throw your rubbish. Nine in the evening. A ring at the door. It is Lazarus the milkman, an ex-construction worker with initiative

and nine cows. We could ao longer bear to drink milk that came from conventionally kept cows, which are permanently pregnant, whose calveare routinely taken off them and of whom a sizeable percentage have mastitis. Just now our milk comes from Morphoula - we get second rest of Greece struggles to cope | pullafter her call has drunk its till.

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

WHAT FOLLOWS gold and diamond wedding anniversuries? If nothing, can anyone suggest a suitable substance for our parents' 70th?

WHEN my uncle and aunt celebrated their platinum wedding (70 years), I gave them a platimum-coloured orchid. - Anni Wilks, Whitstable, Kent

MYDO multiplication tables end at 12?

THE MAIN reason is that they come from an age of inches and feet, pence and shillings, when the 12-times table was widely useful. The current GCSE syllabus states that pupils only need to know up to their 10 times table. - Gerard Mackay, Shropshire

HAT is the origin of the phrase "doesn't cut the

IN THE ninth century, when mustard was one of the main crops in East Anglia, it was cut by hand with scythes, in the same way as corn. The crop could grow up to six feet high and this was very arduous work, requiring extremely sharp tools. When blunt they "would not cut the mustard". All this and everything else you could ever want to know about mustard can be found at the Mustard Museum in Norwich. -Phil Pegum, Stretton, Cheshire

TARLY 20th century criminal slang to describe a well performing person or gang was to say they were "hot stuff" or "mustard". So a person who doesn't cut the have with bonobos, or for that mat- | mustard is second rate. - Peter Sharp, Snells Beach, New Zealand

> WHY does the wedding ring go on the third finger of the left hand? I am left-handed: is it socially acceptable to have the wedding band on my right hand?

JISTORY has labelled left-hand-77 edness as an evit trait. The present-day wedding tradition of joining right hands and placing the gold ring on the third finger of the left hand began with the superstition that doing so would absorb the evil inherent in the left hand. So if | The Notes & Queries website is at you are evil wear the ring on your http://nq.guardian.co.uk/

left hand, it not place it on your right. - Marten Davies, Truckee, California, USA

#F DOGS can understand decentain words like their name and "sit", how many words could they learn? Is it a matter of conditioning? Could certain breeds understand more than others?

Olived to be 16 before being killed by a fur-and-run driver while he (the dog, not as far as we know, the drivert was on a tour of the homes of his favourite bitches, was actually bilingual and would respond to for ignore according to mood) a wide range of words in both English and Swiss German. -B Locher, Huetlikon, Switzerland

DOGS do not understand any human language. Why should they? They usually know before you do that you are about to wake up in the morning or go for a brisk walk. Dogs are not confused by language, but familiar gestures or oral sounds can be helpful because they stress what is usually obvious to the dog anyway. Humans with habitual behaviour are like an open book to an intelligent animal. Dogs that seem to understand language are just eager to please. — Bob Norlin, Kew, Victoria, Australia

Any answers?

/ / E INHERIT genetic characteristics from our parents. Which from our father and which from our mother, and Donald MacBeath, Edinburgh

WHO is the work!'s greatest hypocrite? — Terry James,

HAT are the chances of the Year-2000 computer-date problem causing worldwide economic meltdown? - John Coatman, Rugeley, Staffordshire

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/+44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ,



Bonobos, undiscovered until 1929, live in harmony in a society that husises sexual relations and equality PHOTO PLANET EARTH PICTURES

studied by scientists, they produced a distinct shock, for the creatures But until recently little was known about the bonobo, and most were found to have staggering sexual appetites. As Prof de Waal puts It: "Bonobos engage in sex in virtually every partner combination."

These "combinations" include sex is solely for procreation. penis-fencing - in which two males airly violent societies are the norm. lace to lace from a branch while rubbing their erect penises together - as well as sporadic oral sex, massage of another individual's genitals and intense tongue-kissing On the other hand, it should be added that the average copulation

tion might have emphasised sexual relations, equality between males and females and the origin of the lasts only 13 seconds. family, lustead of war, hunting, tool technology and other masculine fortes," says Prof de Waal. Ignorance about the bonobo stems from the fact that they were only classified in 1929, and that there are only about 10,000 of the species, all living in a small frag-

tension. For example, after a female hits a juvenile, the latter's mother may lunge at the aggressor, an ac-tion immediately followed by genital ment of forest in the Democratic rubbing between the two adults. And in this non-violent society,

This behaviour has a basic ulterior - but unconscious - motive. Sex is used as a substitute for aggression, as a means of defusing

However, when bonobos were sion, females control food and dominate the males. "Bonobos provide a concrete alternative to macho evolutionary models derived from the behaviour of baboons and chimpanzees," adds Prof de Waal. "They also thoroughly upset the idea that

> However, similarities that ter chimps, are not sufficient on their own to explain every aspect of human evolution, Prof de Waal acknowledges. Special factors have produced unique human characteristics, particularly the nuclear family in which males and females share the raising of offspring - a phenomenon unique in the ape world.

Nevertheless, non-aggressive bonobos, with their powerful female lobby and egalltarian social structure, provide as useful a model for understanding human evolution as any other species, particularly as it is based on an animal with whom we share 98 per cent of our genetic freed from the fear of male aggres | make-up. - The Observer

6 lan Phillips on an art historical detective story

INETEEN seventy-nine was the year Margaret Thatcher became Prime Minister, the year that Soviet troops entered Afghanistan and the year the Camp David peace agreement was signed. For most people, it probably seems like a distant memory, but Milanese art restorer Pinin Brombilla Barcilon remembers it well. It was the year she began restoring Leonardo da Vinci's The Last Supper, and she's still doing it.

At that time, she was working on the Crucifixion by Montorfano, which faces Leonardo's masterpiece in the refectory of Santa Maria delle Grazie church in Milan. One day, she noticed bits of paint falling from The Last Supper and moved her scaffolding to take a look. Experts from Rome's Central Restoration Institute were then called in, and the decision to restore the painting was swiftly taken.

Now she directs a team of three. and together they manage to re store one square centimetre a day. They are hoping to complete the restoration next year: it will have taken 19 years.

The refectory has been open to the public since 1995, when a new air-conditioning system was installed, and visitors now pass through a series of four pressurised, filtered, glass chambers that keep temperature and humidity stable and reduce dust. Each person is allowed 20 minutes in front of the painting, but this is long enough to watch the restorers at work on a huge hydraulic platform.

Restoring The Last Supper in something very special to Brombilla Barcilon, "It's very difficult for a restorer to have the opportunity to work on one of Leonardo's paintings. It's something that happens just once in a lifetime."

Before the restoration work proper could begin, the Brussels Restoration Institute looked into which solvents would be most suitable to remove excess paint and centuries of dirt. Chemical and physical tests were carried out on minuscule particles of colour. In her sparse office are file upon file of microscope photos, and it was discovered that large amounts of oil, glue refectory wall. Within decades,



Brombilla Barcilon: When the scaffolding is dismantled that will be that will have lost everything

and putty had been added to the painting by restorers in the past. Thousands of black-and-white, colour, infrared and ultra-violet photos were taken, and the work was carefully reconstituted on computer to show its exact state before the present restoration.

The Last Supper was commissioned by the Duke of Milan, Lodovico Il Moro, in 1495, and depicts the moment at which Christ tells his disciples that one of them will betray him. It took Leonardo three years to complete; given one eyewitness's account, it is hardly surprising. "Leonardo would go two, three or four days without touching the picture," the writer Bandello recounts, "but he went every day for two or three hours to look at it and examine it."

Unfortunately, it was not long before the painting began to deteriorate seriously. Instead of using the fresco technique of swiftly applying pigments on to damp, lime-based plaster before it dries, Leonardo chose to use a preparation of dry calcium carbonate, which meant he could paint at his leisure. Unbeknown to Leonardo, however, a apring ran directly underneath the

Divided by a common language

water infiltrated his preparation, made it swell up and caused widespread colour loss. In 1556, the painter Vasari spoke

of it as "so badly affected that nothing is visible except a mass of blurs". More recent history has hardly been kinder to the work. In 1796, French soldiers used the refectory as a stables and threw stones at the painting. In 1800, the building was looded, and during world war two it suffered a direct hit from an Allied bomb. Fortunately, the north wall on which The Last Supper was painted was protected by sandbags. It was the only one left standing.

"Every day we discover yet another wonderful surprise," says Brombilla Barcilon. These include the vivid original colours, as well as reflections in the glasses on the table and the landscape in the background, which could no longer be seen. She has also revealed that the restorers of the past completely changed the profiles of a number of the figures, displaced the eye of one of them, and even mistook a shadow for a beard. "The painting is completely different now," she says. "Before, the faces and expressions were very firm and rigid. Now the figures are moving once again."

the original painting left, Brombilla Barcilon applies watercolours in neutral tones to fill in the gaps. This allows the picture to be read as a coherent whole, but she is careful not to try to add in any missing elements, such as folds in the clothing. For this part of the work, she insists that it is not only a question of tech-

Where there is no longer any of

nique, but also of sensibility. "A restorer really has to understand the painter, to enter into the spirit of the work," she says. "Otherwise the restoration becomes completely mechanical and the painting's value is diminished."

Eighteen years after she began, Brambilla Barcilon looks tired, and admits that there have been times when she has felt like giving up. "There have been moments of depression, times when I have said to myself in anguish, 'I must finish, I must finish, I must finish, I must finish." And what is she planning to do once the restoration is completed? "Bastal I'll take my retirement." And vet, at the same time, she will greatly miss the painting once the restoration is complete. "When the scaffolding is dismantled, that will be that. I will have lost my friend, the work of art, everything."

In this case, a Croatian family, working-class life, Broken English

Tricks of the tradesmen

THEATRE **Michael Billington**

FIFTIES Absurdism unites with social realism in Simon Block's Chimps at London's Hampstead Theatre, a savage cautionary tale about the devas tating effect of opening your door to travelling salesmen. It's too long by 20 minutes but, playing upon one's darkest fears. It more than fulfils the promise hown by Block's Not A Game For Boys.

Block's point is that salesme prey on their victims' weakresses but that they themselve are often deeply divided. So we ee Mark, a feckless designer of children's alphabet books, and his pregnant, breadwinning part ner, Stevie, suddenly being told by a pair of doorstepping buckstera that their house is in danger of collapse through brick decay. The news not only expose the cracks in their relationship, but it also reveals the fissures between the fast-talking solution peddler Lawrence and his conscienceless assistant Abriel.

Although the territory is not unfamiliar and the outcome is grimly predictable, Block scores through the sheer accuracy of his observation. This is precisely how salesmen operate. They identify a spurious problem, blindyou with bogus science and then seek to tie you to them for life.

Admittedly, you wonder how Mark could be such a mutt as to swallow this stuff about degener ate pointing. But my own critical sales-resistance was overcome by Nicholas Woodeson's mag



Frowning, not waving Third Rock is a fresh and fetch-

TELEVISION Nancy Banks-Smith

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

A IRPORT on BBC1. Heathrow at dawn. Steve and Russell, the resident photographers, are waiting for Princess Diana. She hurries out to her car and moves her hand as if waving. But it isn't a wave: it is a perfectly timed gesture that hides her face completely from the cameras. Steve and Russell, who have been

up since 3am to do this job, laugh. Photographers are born bouncing. Russell says: "You see all these lovely pictures of her abroad, tiptoeing through the minefields, and she comes back here at the end of the tour and does that," and he

sketches the wave. Steve says: "Diana makes it very difficult for photographers some times. I have actually seen her come out of the door backwards. Today was one of the worst. I just had to sland there and laugh when I saw that." And he waves the wave.

"Really shafted," says Russell.
"Yes, really shafted," says Steve. The same day, Pamela Anderson arrives to publicise deep-crust pizza. Pammy is famous for looking wonderful in a swimsuit, so she probably doesn't cat a lot of deep-crust pizza. Dozens of photographers run backwards in front of her like courtiers. She walks smiling into the clicking wall of clattering cameras like a queen bee in flight, carrying her swarm with her.

I remember a third famous blonde towards the end of her life, refusing a request for a picture. "I have," said Marlene Dietrich, "been photogwaphed to death."

A second series of the comedy Third Rock from the Sun has started on BBC2. The BBC shows it an hour later than Sky One, which has been running the same series since March. So, pay attention now: the earlier one is later, and the later one earlier. This has something to do with the speed of light and the curvature of the earth.

ing little comedy, but the credits are really engrossing. Katy, Denise and Gregg are listed as assistants to the writer. That's nice. Though what anyone can do to help a writer, apart from keeping out of his way when he howls like a dog, is a mystery to me. S J Perelman, who wrote fire-

works for the Marx Brothers, worked in a shed in the garden. No phone, you see. He said a chipmunk watched him closely and concluded that his work was throwing screwed-up pieces of paper in a bin. P G Wodchouse, who invented a sort of toilet roll so he could type without the momentary distraction of changing paper, dedicated one book To my daughter Leonora, without whose never-failing sympo-thy and encouragement this book would have been finished in half the time." Probably only Robert Benchley, who put LADIES on his office door, would have welcomed Katy and Denise.

Third Rock is rich in producers though, like the writer's assistants it is hard to imagine what they actually do. There is an executive in charge of production, five executive producers (one of them called Marcy Carsey, which is catchy), two co-executive producers, two supervising producers, three plain producers and a consulting producer. Which one, you wonder nervously is the Big Giant Head?

Third Rock, in case you were wondering, is about four aliens who are sent on a scouting mission to Earth by the Big Giant Head. To pass unremarked, they adopt human form and call themselves Tom, Dick, Harry and Sally. In the cliffhanger at the end of the first series, Dick was supplanted by a renegade alien, Evil Dick.

I enjoyed watching Evil Dick trying to dominate that foreign concept the telephone. Ding, ding, "What do you want?" Ding, ding. "What do you want?" Ding, ding. "STOP IT!" The phone stopped ringing. This actually works. Try it.

Wolfgang Wagner, aged 77, Richard's grandson, continues to exert a total grip on Bayreuth, his son has just published a lacerating account of the family's requited but repressed love affair with Adolf Hitler and Nazism, and his niece is mount-

ing a bid to unseat Wolfgang and

ily history and the Nazi issue.

lan Traynor reports on

a new Wagnerian feud

at the Bayreuth festival

/ IIEN the curtain rises or

every July, it confirms that, despite

this year's torrential rains, the

many's smart set and the inter-

A production of Tristan And Isolde

national jet set.

Richard Wagner at the

sold-out Bayreuth festival

take over the running of the festival The Wagner clan is no stranger to incestuous backstabbing. But this year the infighting has plumbed iew depths, as carefully timed publications and interviews have yied

Dramatic overtures

for the support of public opinion. The feud has been heightened by new book on Hitler and Wagner by Joachim Kähler which unearths summer has finally arrived for Ger- copious detail of the Nazi leader's obsession with the maestro and his closeness to Wagner's offspring, who treated Hitler as part of the family.

kicked off this year's two-month-long The book has not met with unifestival at the Bavarian shrine to the versal approval. In Wagner's Hitler, ever-controversial 19th century com-Mr Köhler portrays the composer poser. But this year's real Bayreuth as the nasticst of ideological antidrama is being enacted offstage by Semites who inspired Hitler and the composer's descendants, who paved the way for the Holocaust. are squabbling over the Wagner legacy, control of Bayreuth, the fam-The claims are not new but the wealth of detail on the Hitler-Wagner relationship is. But it is in the family itself that the knives are out.

Wolfgang has run the festival and guarded the legacy obsessively and single-handedly since his brother Wieland died 31 years ago.
But Wolfgang's son Gottfried ac-

cuses his father of revering Hitler as a substitute father and then burying his past for decades, and Wolfgang's niece Nike paints him as a vicious megalomaniae concerned only with the box office.

Wolfgang, she said recently, was "irrational", a "master of dismissal fits of rage, and smokescreen", who had turned Bayreuth into a "German nationalist tetish"

Gottfried, in a book published earlier this year, paints a nightmarish picture of growing up at Bayreuth, where Hitler was a regular family guest. He bints that the Führer was his grandmother Winifred's lover. He alleges that his parents and grandparents knew all about the Holocaust and the fate of some of the Jewish musicians employed at Bayreuth, but lifted not a finger to help.

Wolfgang last month denounced the allegations as "slander and fabrication".

His niece Nike appears to be equally embittered, in her case by her ambition to succeed Wolfgang. Under him, she said, the festival had become a sacred rite, characterised by parochialism, habit and "mass obedience"

But the well-heeled opera-goers seem not to mind, flocking to the festival each summer to worship at the shrine. There is a waiting list of

Mighty call for peace

IRST NIGHT OF THE PROMS Martin Kettle

THE first night of the Proms generally consists of a single rork these days, often a choral masterpiece, to start the two-month festival with an appropristely mighty statement. Surprisingly, this was only the hird time that Beethoven's ilssa Solemnis has set the seaon rolling, but under Bernard aitink's assured direction it felt an absolutely appropriate choice.

It was a busy week for Haltink, closing Covent Garden and then pening the Proms, but this performance found him at his assured best.

Because this was London's Royal Albert Hall, the large and echolng choral forces always tended to dominate in any contest with the orchestra, and the BBC Singers and BBC Symphony

horus certainly gave their all.
The Missa Solemnis begins with three powerful movements of this kind, whose chergy and reactivity are constantly miraculous. But from midway through the Credo, Beethoven's Mass becomes the utterance of a more doubled spirit and the music be not to think of Northern Ireland.

comes more intimate, personal, episodic and vulnerable. Haitink's long experience neans that he knew exactly when to hold back the ensemble and establish these moods. As a

contrasted reading. In a distinguished quartet of soloists, Karita Mattila stood out. Mattila is in a wonderful phase of her career, and the way she shaded her tone was a lesson in itself. Catherine Wyn-Rogers, Herbert Lippert and Anthony Michaels-Moore com-

result, this was a very richly

pleted the excellent quartet. starts which such uncompromising certainties, ends with some of the most touching and almost theatrical music in any devotional work. The sounds of war, trumpets and drums, are heard in the distance as the chorus

sings the prayer for peace. Being Beethoven, this is not merely a spiritual prayer but a plea for peace from and for real uman beings in the actual world. As the soloists and chorus repeated their soft and ir-gent "Dona nobis pacem" on this hot summer night in the

Kindly light from Barnsley

OBITUARY Brian Glover

BRIAN GLOVER, who has died from a brian lumour at the age of 63, was an man of many parts: actor, writer, one-time wrestler and teacher. Yet whatever roles he played after his first part as the tious games master in Kes, he remained reassuringly familiar: a bald, rubbery, pink-faced figure, whose bluff manner seemed to conceal a warm-hearted decency.

Glover was born in Barnsley, where his father combined a cornershop grocery with a second career as a wrestler. Wrestling was clearly in the genes since Glover junior later took to the ring to supplement. his student grant Once, in Wilmslow, when a foreign wrestler falled to turn up, he found himself being introduced as "Leon Arras — from Paris, France"; and the name stuck.

Even when he took a job as a:

Friday nights, he would fly to the | 1970s and early 1980s. He played continent, where he would earn good money in the ring. Then it would be back to school on a Monday morning with the equivalent of a month's pay in his pocket.

It was in 1968 that he made the break into acting. His fellow school-teacher, Barry Hines, had written a novel, A Kestrel For A Knave, about to be turned luto a film by Tony Garnett and Ken Loach. Hines sug-gested Glover for the role of the overbearing games master, Sugden, and his performance lit up the screen. In the football-match scene he became the epitome of every teacher who releases his own thwarted ambitions on the boys.

Glover was clearly a natural and he was spon in constant demand whenever directors wanted a tough, managed to invest many of the charworking-class character, built like a acters he played with a residual tank but capable of displaying an goodness. inner sensitivity.

Much of Glover's best work in the theatre was done for Bill Bryden's teacher of English and French, he famously earthy Cottestoc company continued to live a double life. On at the National Theatre in the late born April 2, 1934; died July 24, 1997

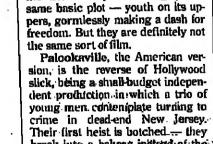
God in Tony Harrison's alliterative working-class version of The Mysteries. It was Glover who established the tone of the whole trilogy as, from the height of a fork-lift truck, he announced in his richest Barnsley tones; "I am gracious and great, God withouten beginning."

sion, usually in a style of comic realism and appeared in every kind of theatre, specialising in a bluff, bold heartiness.

He was an ultra-reliable pro who. shrewdly, knew that his Tetley Tea Folk ads were his private pension scheme. But there was more to Glover than met the eye: he was a kindly, intelligent man, who had lived a remarkable life and who

Michael Billington





Derek Malcolm

young men contemplate turning to crime in dead-end New Jersey. Their first heist is botched ... they break into a bakery instead of the jeweller's next door. It's not likely | from bratpack romanticism.

■F EVER the difference between

world could be easily illustrated,

Alan Taylor's Palookaville and

David Caesar's Idiot Box would do

the trick. They have largely the

that they'll get rich quick, a restant

leader. He lives with his mother and is having an abortive affair with the girl next door. Sid Mick by Jeremy Sims), but its tone (William Forsythe) is divorced and | is icity critical of Australian suburbia. lives with his dogs for company. American film-making and that of | Jerry (Adam Trese) is married and harassed at the supermarket and

loses her job when he objects. The tone is comic and tries for

are the thing. real difference between the two

charm more than hard-edged realism, with a bit of social satire on the side. These are society's losers and they are self-deprecating enough to know it. But you don't see much of the context. Plot and performance

The whole is entertaining but resolutely apolitical, which is the styles of film-making. What you get is ironic entertainment that makes the film cherishable as a far cry

Where Taylor's genuinely nice ous when his wife is sexually any more polish would somehow betray it, Caesar's is stylish and assured. Joe Pickering's sharp widescreen cinematography alone would give it distinction. Above all, Idiot Box has a scato-

logical irreverence which proclaims that when it thumbs its nose at good taste it isn't just playing. Perhaps the nearest to it is another Australian movie, P J Hogan's Muriel's Wedding — despite some foolish comparisons that have been made

with Trainspotting. At any rate, it is an exceptional little film, sneakily observant and aggressively taking Australia apart using what one can only call angry comedy. Palookaville isn't angry. It's rings true, but without a perceptive the dangerous predators roads Russ (Vincent: Gallo). is their other hand, is far meaner. It laughs also just fun: line after line of diascreenplay it slips into melodrama.

Carlos Carlos Company

logue makes you laugh out loud. But if Idiot Box did merely that, Caesar would feel that he'd failed.

Broken English is from Robin Scholes, the producer of Once Were Warriors, the most successful New Zealand film of all time. Lightning, however, rarely strikes twice. This American film is messily made, as if | story, directed by Gregor Nicholas, hasn't that film's passion or flair. What it does have is an important subject matter for a country where inter-racial relationships sometimes cause appalling conflicts.

> headed by Rade Serbedzija's oppressive father, is upended by the affair of their daughter (Aleksandra Vujcic) with a Maori (Julian Arahanga, from Once Were Warriors). Locked in her house by her father, the daughter watches as violence erupts. Set in Auckland, the film is not kind to the Croatians, who are portrayed as bullet-headed, drugrunning immigrants. As a portrait of

netic performance as Lawrence toting his water-repellent cost character, an ex-positerer on the skids, is fighting for his own professional life; and Woodest pushing Polaroid snaps of the doomed house across the table like a Mississippi riverboat card-sharp, combines slick salesman's patter with a series desperation and residual decept I was reminded of the late . . :

Leonard Rossiter in his heydel The other parts pale in com parison but even if the action has the inevitability of an old lonesco play, it is underpin by a deadly accurate picture of

WHEN Zelda's father commits suicide, she begins to uncover his traumatic past as a prisoner of war in a Japanese camp, whilst revisiting her own guilty past — the torment she inflicted on "Puddle Duck", a partially deaf and disabled child whom her father favoured. largely because (she now discovers) he was involved with the child's prostitute mother. Amidst all this, Zelda's lesbian lover seems to be leaving her for another woman. Sounds more depressing than it is: Glaister is finely tuned to the subtleties of relationships and childhood motivations, and she writes convincingly about the secrets that luck in most family histories.

Rancid Aluminium, by James Hawes (Cape, £9.99)

THIS is fiction for blokes wh should be too old for this sort of thing: it is fast and self-obsessed but, annoyingly, rather funny.

Thirtysomething bloke worrying about baldness, beer gut and spermcount discovers that his dodgy tax returns have come home to roost and his company is facing bankruptcy. He borrows loads of money from a Russian man called Kant and gets himself into a gun-toting, vodka-swilling, leggy Russian temptress-shagging mess.

Le Testament Français, by Andrei Makine, trans Geoffrey Strachan (Sceptre, £16.99)

FOURTH novel by the bilingual Makine, a Russian emigré to France, this has deservedly won several French literary prizes. The narrator is a Russian boy, growing up in a city on the Volga in the seventies but spending summers with his French grandmother in Siberia As a grown-up, the narrator finally gets to France but his grandmother dies before he can send for her, leaving him a letter containing the key to his own past. Makine links personal and national histories in a beguiling and sophisticated novel.

The Love Parade, by Matthew Branton (Hamish Hamilton. £10.99)

AKE, ex-member of a boy band feels rejected by The System particularly the media world (he can't get anyone to take an interest in his screenplay) so he falls in with glam chick Brett and her brother River, and together they try to pull a scam on the media corporation which has failed to recognise their talents. Branton's style is distinctive, but there is a danger that the hip and buzzing media world which nearly finishes Jake off could have a similar effect on the reader.

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English bull in a china shop

lan Buruma

The Last Governor: Chris Patten and the Handover of Hong Kong by Jonathan Dimbleby Little, Brown 461pp £22.50

ONATHAN Dimbleby's riveting book is nothing if not partisan: he is a close friend of his subject. Chris Patten; he has had unique access to Government House, and by and large he argues Patten's case as a kind of journalistic advocate. Since many of the criticisms against Patten are personal he is a grandstander, a crusader, a vain politician out for his own glory - some of Dimbleby's apologia is personal as well, to the point, here and there, of sounding a bit like Hello! magazine. We do not really need to know about the governor's splendid little terrier dogs, or his charm as a dinner-party host. He may be a fine fellow. Indeed, I think he is a fine fellow. But that is hardly the point.

What, then, is the main case against Patten? It has been made with special venom by Sir Percy Cradock, former ambassador to Beijing, foreign-policy adviser to Margaret Thatcher and China-hand par excellence. Before 1992, so the a larger political point.

Cradock line goes, diplomatists | (such as Sir Percy himself) had "finessed" a deat with China, which allowed a gerrymandered legislature to continue after 1997. According to the Joint Declaration of 1984, future egislatures would be "constituted by elections". What kind of elections was unclear. But it was understood, though not publicised, that democracy was never on offer.

Then Patten came charging ilong, with great fanfare, antagonis ing the Chinese, whose cultural subtleties he did not understand, introducing all manner of democratic reforms, which Beijing could not possibly accept. As a result, British relations with China froze. Patten's reforms were diamantled. A freely elected legislature was replaced by Beijing's appointees. And Hong Cong is worse off than it would have been if wiser counsel had prevailed.

Since Dimbleby's book tells a personal story, his cast tends to be neatly divided into heroes and vilains. The heroes are the last governor and the Hong Kong democrats, and the villains are the serpentine Foreign Office China-hands, the greedy Hong Kong tycoons, and the loathsome hard men of Beijing. To dwell on personalities risks missing

treated by Beijing and London as a diplomatic problem; how to effect a smooth transition from one colonial master to another. The events in Tianammen Square changed everything. Hong Kong became a political problem. Chris Patten and the democrats (and millions of Hong Kong people) understood this; Sir Percy evidently did not. Beijing's hard men, on the other hand, understood the political consequences of Tiananmen only too well: they became harsher

It had always been a convenient notion shared by the Hong Kong business élite and the British colonial government that the Houg Kong Chinese did not care about politics, let alone democracy. After the spring of 1989, when a million people marched in the streets of Hong Kong, this idea was shattered. People did want democracy, if only to protect them against the arbitrary power of Beijing. They did not get it, but at least they got a Bill of

Rights in 1991. ern British diplomatic history, de scribed by Dimbleby in devastating detail. The British had promised Hong Kong direct legislative elec-

Before 1989, Hong Kong was

and more paranoid as a result.

This was several years after one of the most shameful episodes in mod-

public opinion. Quite safe, old boy you can hear people at the Hone Kong Club say, these chaps aren't interested in politics, you know, Unfor tunately, a majority was in favour of direct elections. So the figures had to he doctored to show the opposite re sult to please Beijing. The direct elections were off. Such diplomatic shenanigans were simply not possible any more after Tiananmen. The time for such "finesse" was over. Theoretically, when Patten a rived on the scene in 1992, he had a

tions for 1988. Beijing did not like it

A survey was held to test Hong Kong

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

choice: to please Beijing by keeping hings smooth and easy on the liplomatic front, or to risk upsetting the Chinese rulers by having dren elections, promoting civil liberies and promulgating laws to proted them. The first option would mean continuing with a gerrymandered legislature, emasculating the Bill of Rights, giving in to such demands as loyalty oaths (to Beijing) from legislative candidates and allowing the local press to be intimidated. Patten has been accused of behaving like an arrogant Westminster bull in a delicate china shop, but is fact he had little choice: pushing for democratic reforms was not a matter of grandstanding or carecismal was what the Hong Kong population demanded

He gave Hong Kong the opport nity to show that its colonial subjects were not just interested in, but could handle, democratic politica a perfectly responsible manner. The yeoons, both British and lock were outraged: this was not the we hings were done in Hong Kong. this was upsetting China, this was bad for business.

Like the diplomatic China-hands they felt that Patten had trampledal over their turf. Of course Patters reforms came far too late. But the does not mean he was wrong to in roduce them.

No doubt Patten bore his own lo nour and that of his country in mist when he made his inadequate, kg minute stabs at democracy. Im bleby tells us as much. But how Britain's honour, or indeed Hou Kong's future, better served Brb nessing secret deals with dictator and selling such deals as victors' Or by laying the groundwork for democratic government even though it looks like a temporary defeat?

If you would like to order this book at the special price of £19 contact CultureShop (see below left)

unselfconscious emotional despressions

sure does not translate across the

Atlantic too well. As Friedman

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Footnotes to the big questions

answered, or at least tackled, all

Stuart Jeffries

Edstentialists and Mystics: Essays on Philosophy and Literature by Iris Murdoch Chatto 546pp £20

XISTENTIALISTS And Mystics will certainly be Iris Murdoch's last book of philosophy and, quite possibly, her last book. Murdoch, now 77, is suffering from Alzheimer's Disease and has recently expressed her fear that she will never be able to write It's a strange book. Not that there

is anything weird or unusual in a philosopher publishing a valedic-tory collection of essays from 1950 to 1986. Rather, the appearance of Existentialists And Mystics is strange because it is not clear why the book is worth publishing today. Who is it for? Her work is ignored by professional philosophers, and regarded as being as baggy and dubious as her worst novels. Even that surely dwindling breed of readers who love her fiction are unlikely to

The book comes in a year when the grand old personages of British philosophy, who have dictated the public image if not the substance of the subject since the war, have published vast, valedictory volumes. It is the end of an era. At best this was the era in which philosophers were public figures, who could write attractively and so communicate their thoughts to a broader

public than most anglophone philosophers this century have managed. Admittedly they wouldn't communicate very much - Murdoch and Isaiah Berlin, particularly, prefer to perform, to be dinnerparty show-offs, alluding incessantly to their broad reading, rather than doing the harder work of philoeophical argument.

Murdoch: a decorous nod in At least Murdoch's philosophy | Plato's direction

conceives of her task as to tackle grand issues, Goodness, God, Love. | absence of avaricious tentacles of the self." The role of art. The meaning of life. Murdoch wrote these words 30 But then her philosophy is Plato without the Socratic dialectic. Plato years ago for a lecture called "The

these big questions; Murdoch consists of obligingly allusive exposition of her master's voice. And why Terry Eagleton, for instance, damned her thus: "Murdoch's intelnot? Alfred North Whitehead said that all subsequent philosophy con-sisted of footnotes to Plato. ligence is constrained by her uncon-Like Berlin, her chief philosophlcal virtue is that she is a signpost

Berlin points to the neglected political thinkers Herzen and Vico. Murlay aside self-interest, to relinquish doch node decorously in Plato's selfish desire, is the familiar advice direction. With all three one feels given by the privileged."
But here Eagleton is too peremp one would do better to read the real tory: the familiar advice, rather, given by political philosophers from Hobbes to Rawls, is that we are self-And yet Murdoch is a fascinating study. In an age of rampant selfish ness, she preaches a climb from the

dark Platonic cave of human deluto be circumscribed by the state. sion to the sun of goodness. "Humil-Murdoch's philosophy represents ity is a rare virtue and an an uninshionable alternative, an unfashionable one and one which is other-worldly milieu as odd to enoften hard to discern. Only rarely counter for the first time as the sindoes one meet somebody in whom gular settings of her novels. Those books teem with fraught characters, it positively shines, in whom one apprehends with amazement the whose philosophies and feelings are expressed so articulately that one doubts that they are as truly pas-

sionate as Murdoch intends, it's as though Murdoch were a god come down from Olympus, exasperated with the pettiness and human frailties of her co-deities, and determined to lare us to the straight and narrow of Platonic perfection. The result is a clutch of novels where characters called Bellamy, Clement, Louise, Jeremy and Emil jockey for attention on the same page

These books are the dramatisa-tions of the philosophy that those who dare will find in Existentialists And Mystics, where human passion is profound but endlessly unstable. Confronted with the histrionics of Murdochland, one yearns for the mellow dignity of Murdoch's

Speak the unspeakable Kathy Evans

Brutal Friendship

by Said K Aburish

Gollancz 396pp £20 Sovereignty of Good Over Other Concepts". If they were unfashion-**F**OR several decades now, the Palestinian author Said Aburish able then, they are positively alien has been making Arab governments wince with pain and embarrass-ment Why? Because among Arab authors, he is almost alone in speak

scious ideological prejudices, so that she seems incapable, unlike William Blake, of seeing the daning the truth. His latest work, A Brutal Friend ship, follows a tradition stretching gers of an ethics of selflessness. To back over half a dozen books cover ing the undemocratic and corrupt nature of Arab regimes. Among a small circle of Arab writers and journalists who dare to speak the un-speakable, Aburish is fast becoming an icon. To some Arab states, he has proved an author more traumatising ish creatures whose baseness needs

than Salman Rushdie Such role models are sorely needed. The handful of Arab writers and journalists who reject selfcensorship face the isolated lives of those on blacklists - visas denied, job problems and exclusion from the circles of power, even the occasional spell in iail.

Those who do succumb to such pressure are rewarded with murmured confidences and leaks, the very staff of journalism, and end up recognised as admired "experts" who have special insights and contacts at the top.

The net result of decades of such blacklists and inducements is that Arabs are simply unable to discuss their lives and problems in their own media. This stifling of debate has been compounded by a total absence of democracy and spawned a militancy that threatens the very Arab liberal tradition the West real peace and real democracy. claims it wants to preserve. Despite | Painful, but true. So keep on writthe obvious dangers, this gap be- ling, Aburish.

tween the region's people and its rulers has been ignored by all Western governments. It is this which Aburish calls the "brutal friendship": an alliance between the West, their arms manufacturers and the

dictators they serve and nurture. In his usual punchy style, Aburish's opening sentence says it all: There are no legitimate regimes in the Arab Middle East," he begins. In the Arab Gulf, the defence sales men's dream, not a single state subscribes to the International Bill of Human Rights. There is no free press, or political parties. Yet the area is considered by the West as "a stabilising factor in the region".

Western acceptance of this lack of democracy has left the region's lialogue with the West in the hands of an exclusive and unrepresentative elite. The exclusion of the opinons of ordinary Arabs is what has nourished the historical misunderstanding that plagues Arab-West elations, Aburish argues.

Iraq, Syria and Libya are all boycotted by the West and their governments have proved the most oppressive of all the Arab regimes. et their leaders are admired by many ordinary Arabs for their continued refusal to succumb to 115 ; pressure. Fragically, for their own cople and the Arabs as a whole, it Saddam, Hatez Assad of Syrra and Libya's Gadary who hold the issues of Arab nation desco

Nowhere is this tragedy in West ern policy more apparent tean inthe Middle East peace process Arab frustration over such issues as Palestine and bernsalem is out of control, warns Aburish The rhetoric of the Arab elite no longer satisfies the people's demand for

Shoe-leather account of the Grand Tour Nicholas Fraser Keukenhof. "A deep breath | tegration" of Europe has been en-

fravels as a Brussels Scout by Nick Middleton veldenfeld & Nicolson 258pp £17.99

BOOKS about Europe fall into two categories: the plumber's nanual, filled with meaningless diagrams purporting to explain recent finements of the Brussels bureauracy, and the slender essay, usually te work of a French savant, in which the progress of the European idea, or lack of it, is elegantly adum-brated. Mercifully, Nick Middleton's avel book comes from a somewhat fferent tradition. Living in Oxford, working as a geographer, he has given us a post-Bryson, shoe-leather

Previous forays took him to Mongolia and Africa, so it is not surprising that Travels As A Brussels Scout ctrays a nostalgic affinity with what German, quoted in the book, refers to as "the outskirts" of the Continent. He is good with bad winter via the Stockholm ferry. Leaving the ice zone for the choco-late belt, however, he falters, panick-

through the nose was enough to send you into orbit," he writes, catching the proper tone of mild awe that is owed to Dutch landscape.

The serious European traveller is

obliged to confront the problem of the European Union itself. What is the Union? What does it do? These are questions that Middleton, busy with bad weather or time-tables, understandably tends to duck, though he concludes that the Union is "fundamentally a good thing". But the EU isn't a superpower, and, as its staunchest admirers come to realise, never will be. It exists, like Belgium, where it is so appropriately based, as a result of midcentury compromises between more important geopolitical players.

This makes "Brussels" hard to write about, and it explains why few serious historians have bothered with post-war Western Europe. It is necessary to look outside the Union to find much of what remains of Euweather and alcohol, and one of his burg. It is in the shabby, ill-lit rope - in Poland, Bosnia, St Petersbest excursions is to Finland in miduine "pluralism" implied by the European idea. The absence of these his time to pooper scoopers and Is what gives Middleton's forays

couraged from Brussels. This has given Europeans neither a coherent political community, nor a solid sense of European identity. However, the federal project has con-tributed to the decline in importance of nation states, not primarily in an

economic sense, but as entitles worthy of love or indeed hatred. It is most painfully apparent in France, principal sponsor of European integration, where its effects on the tradition of French Republicanism can be seen, horrifyingly, in the rise to influence of the xenophobic anti-capitalist Le Pen. The only truly happy European countries are those which have been freed by the EU from the grasp of powerful neighbours (ie, Finland or Ireland), or Germany, where the odours of mid-century nationalism require permanent deodorisation by the EU.

Short of another Armageddon, which is not improbable, given Europe's history, the Union will probably survive. Nick Middleton encountered opponents to "Brussels" in every country, and they are getting stronger each year. But there are also countries queuing up ing in Paris, where he devotes most places from the Union, as there are travellers, or Euroof his description, where he devotes most places from the Union, as there are travellers, or Euro-Disney. He hits form in the Nether-lands, where his topographical expertise renders vivid the tulip beds

Is what gives tynomerous a long of their hectic, departure lounge air drunks on the Stockholm ferry, but lessness.

For the past 40-odd years, the "in-"

I do intend to take up tulip-sniffing. How to become a freelance writer

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How to stay afloat in a sea of grief

Matt Seaton

Swimming the Channel by Sally Friedman Secker & Warburg 248pp £9.99

HERE must be something in the air. Or rather, in the water. Five minutes ago the pool was empty, its surface limpid; now it is filled with writers thrashing away wildly in the race to complete books about swim-

Oliver Sacks, the psychiatrist author who never travels anywhere while is working on a book for Chatto & Windus about a swimming in a state of hypothermic confusion. journey round Britain.

ocean and of our own personal pre-histories of emerging from our little seas of amniotic fluid. How strange, then, that we Europeans and North Americans learnt to swim properly only by copying the Polynesian Istury ago. Perhaps our water was too

preoccupations of Sally Friedman's Swimming The Channel. The cold, as she eloquently describes, is the greatest enemy of the long-distance swimmer: all the warmth generated without a plastic bag containing his | by the constant calorie-burning effort flippers, wrote recently in the New of 72 strokes a minute for hours on Yorker about the sensual joys of | end is sucked away by the clammy swimming. Roger Deakin mean- embrace of the water, leaving the swimmer chilled to the marrow and

cold for people to experiment. Temperature is one of the major

But Friedman also writes about a We must love water, at some primal level, perhaps because floating in it reminds us both of our prehistoric ancestry emerging from the cold comfortlessness of bereave painful journey through grief.

The book loses some of its form and fluency at this point, and one cold comfortlessness of bereave.

ment, Swimming The Channel is anything but a simple book about wimming; it is an elegy for her

The two strands are intertwined. Her husband Paul was an unstinting porter of her ambition to make a Channel crossing. Back in 1983 Friedman broke the women's record for the Round Manhattan race, a 28.5-mile swim through waters which, frankly, make the stomach churn just to think of. Swimming The Channel, then, was no mere flight of fancy.

After her months of preparation, and on the eve of departure for England, Paul is killed by a truck running a red light on Eighth Avenue. What has been a training diary punctuated by personal reminiscences becomes a journal of her slow and painful journey through grief.

self observes, grief is essentially vate, beyond articulation, an words that people use in these cumstances are, by some chill guistic law, necessarily band. What saves Swimming The Or nel from mawkishness is the faces as metaphor. The lonelines

her plight, her sense of her plice exceptionalism, is like the ness of the long-distance swims.
If you don't swim, you sink that nothing for it but to plat through to the other side. **NEW AUTHORS**

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Nature all in the mind's eye

Paul Evans

AST month 100,000 people met at a rally in London's Hyde Park to demonstrate against a parliamentary bill that proposes to ban the hunting of wild manimals with dogs. Many had walked there from Wales and the English shires, protesting that a ban on fox hunting represents an urban infringement of traditional rights and threatens the whole way of life in the countryside.

Is there a cultural apartheid between town and country where neither side recognises the needs and aspirations of the other, or is this the fag-end of an age-old dispute descending into grotesque pantomime? Concealed beneath this protest against the colonisation of the countryside by urban sensibilities is a fight to protect a fading world. The countryside is dead.

This not to say that the land, country, rural environment, cultural landscapes or whatever we want to call the historic mosaic of places outside Britain's towns and cities, is dead - of course it's not. But the notion of the country as the cultural antithesis of the city has gone. Social and economic changes have put paid to this.

The legitimate pursuit of "field a fitting euphemism for blood sports is held by some as the last thread which holds the weave of country life together. It's as if field sports were some badge of ethnic difference defining the true countryman or woman: if you don't get your kicks killing wild animals, you must be a townie. Of course this is absurd. There are plenty of townies who love killing animals. As with conservation groups, the huntingshooting-fishing organisations have a largely urban membership base.

The romantic idea is that nature's place is in the countryside and because countryfolk are closer to it they have a deeper understanding, their doings are more "natural" and so they're best placed to take care of it. Blinded by ideals of picturesque



land of betrayal and tragedy. The violence done to nature to bend it to human will and the violence done to people by the powerful, are inextricably linked. What we have come to cherish as the countryside is a palimpsest on which successive generations have scratched their own ambitions. Every time political. social and economic forces make a new omelette out of the countryside, some poor sod's eggs get broken. What really stitches the land together, more than hedges, ditches and stone walls, is the myriad individual tragedies of the human and non-human beings which make this

a land of restless ghosts. Field sports' supporters claim that

beauty, we often fail to see this is a | natural way of life that supports conservation for the benefit of all. Opponents of blood sports counter that the cruel treatment of animals is unnatural and unconscionable, and conservation is everybody's business. So what is nature and who can claim to represent it?

We are witnessing in Britain the end of an idealised countryside. The relationships between people and nature will have to be shaped by more imaginative negotiations.

"Nature," said William Blake, "is magination itself." Though the myths we live by and fight for may change, nature's fearful symmetry, its wildness, recognises none of our boundaries, it is all around and within us. And, unlike the countryside, the "arrogant metropolitans" threaten a l imagination is a free country.

Chess Leonard Barden

THE long-running World Championship saga took another twist last month with an imaginative move by Fide, the International Chess Federation, which ran a unified contest until Garry Kasparov and Nigel Short privatised the title in 1993. Currently the fending protagonists are Kasparov and his breakaway PCA group, Fide and its ambitious new head Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, Anatoly Karpov, the out-of-form Fide champion, and IBM's Deep Blue super-computer.

Ilyumzhinov announced, to scepticism, that the next title contest would be a 100-player knock-out played in Kalmykiya, the tiny Russan republic where he is a semibenevolent dictator, and financed with an astonishing \$5 million prize fund. But now he has filled in the details and the event has become credible. The money will come from Halzan, a Moscow-based oil and gas firm, conveniently prospecting in Kalmykia. The early rounds will be played from December 8-25 in Groningen, the semi-finals from December 26-31 in Kalmykiya and the final from January 1-9, 1998, in Lausanne, under the patronage of the International Olympic Committee resident, Juan Samaranch.

The schedule allows for Kasparov and Karpov to join in at the semiinal stage, a manoeuvre both have so far rejected, despite a personal 7 appeal from Samaranch to Kasparov. But many believe that Karpov, not known for willingly renouncing 5 itles, will change his mind.

Meanwhile Kasparov, despite winning the latest élite tournament at Novgorod, is in danger of being bypassed. After the loss of its sponsor, Intel, the PCA's only visible activity now is to issue rating lists so Kasparov can't easily arrange title matches outside Fide. The Russian's final 19-move loss to Deep Blue convinced many rivals that he is no longer invincible, but putting his title on the line in a longer match with the computer may no longer be an option.

Kasparov was so rude during and after his defeat, implicitly accusing

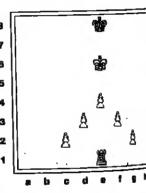
IBM of cheating, that the firm executives, who had talked of fur ther joint ventures with the Russian now regard him as a loose cannon. Indeed, Deep Blue's victory was so high-profile that IBM may decide that the machine can retire early in the manner of previous great IS

champions Morphy and Fischer.

But if Hyumzhinov is metanhori cally a pawn up, there is plenty the can go wrong. His plan to invite Deep Blue as a wild-card entry to the 100-player KO was squashed by outraged grandmasters, and he had to retract lamely, claiming the well title is "for humans only". And GMs will be nervous about the \$5 million payout, remembering the long delays before Karpov and Kamso received the prize money for their 1996 match in Kalmykiya.

The tournament itself could ex in farce. When this year's Russian championship was staged as a KO to provide a dummy run, nearly half the matches, including the final were decided by rapid-play or like tie-breaks. What will players thinkil their highest title is decided by our side playing blitz and winning or time several pieces down?

No 2483



against any defence.

No 2482: 1 Rh11 Rxe5 (f Rt. 1 Rh2+ Kc3 3 Rc2+ and 4 d7) 2 d7 Rd5+ 3 Kc2+ Ks2 4 Rh5l wins ster Rxh5 5 d8Q or Rxd7 5 Ra5 mate to study by H Rinck).

Ashes turn to dust for dismal England

Mike Selvey at Headingley

HERE was no grand defiance. no miracle. A profitable morning and a single delivery after lunch on Monday were all it took for Australia's swaggermen to round up the England strays down the batting order and secure victory in the fourth Test and a 2-1 lead in the series. Anything other than a win for England in the fifth Test starting at Trent Bridge on August 7, and the Ashes will remain in Australian hands for at least two more years.

David Graveney, the chairman of selectors, admitted, after defeat by an innings and 61 runs, that hanges would have to be made in a st desperate throw. "We must not e panicked into wholesale changes but at the same time we have to give ourselves the best possible chance," he said. "We need an injection."

With Dominic Cork back and beginning to fire for Derbyshire, Andy Caddick seething at Somerset, Mark Ramprakash exuding class for Middlesex and a brace of Hollionkes champing at the bit, Alec Stewart, or example, Mark Butcher, Mark tallam, Graham Thorpe, a seemingly distracted cricketer at present, and the hapless Mike Smith will all be aware of the axe being honed. England have not beaten Australia

a Trent Bridge since 1977, when a hops-haired genius strangled the wicket of Greg Chappell and announced himself to the Test world. After the final wicket had fallen on Monday the same Ian Botham, commentator now and match adjudicator erc, conveyed his decision.

The award went not to Matthew Elliott for his innings of 199, to kicky Ponting or to Paul Reiffel, who took half of England's second-

nnings wickets and scored an unbeaten half-century on Sunday morning, but to the slender young Jason Gillesple, who in the first England innings had produced the best innings bowling figures ever by an Australian at Headingley. Gillespie is a shy man of few words but those he utters reveal a disarmingly personable character. "I'm off to have a few beers," he told television viewers, "in a very short space of time." He earned them.

A flat-batted four by Smith off the last ball before lunch gave him something tangible to take from the game and took England to 268, their highest score in the series since the heady times a million years ago when Hussain and Thorpe ran riol at Edgbaston and put on 20 more than that on their own.

Armed with the second new ball Reiffel had taken four wickets for six runs in 27 deliveries to finish, almost by stealth, with five for 49.

There were no more wickets for Glenn McGrath, whose hostility excised the two openers on Sunday afternoon, but Gillespie nicked a tail-ender for himself and Shane Warne took the early and vital wicket of Hussain, who had scored another fine century for his country. Warne, of course, was the fellow England had gone to great lengths to nullify by switching pitches, and, in conceding only the one wicket and no runs to him with the bat, they sucreeded. They just forgot the others.

It was an overwhelming win and owed much to the quality of the Australian play. But England, as so often in the past, failed to take the chances presented. The second day, as both Mark Taylor and Michael Atherton recognise, held the key. England had done well to lose only



Jason Gillespie, bowling himself into the record books TOM JEHAJINS

three wickets on the first day and needed to consolidate. They failed and then, having reduced Australia to 50 for four in reply, they failed again, Elliott and Ponting put the match out of reach and after that it was merely a question of when, rather than if, Australia would win.

Resistance on the final day depended on Hussain and John Crawley extending their partnership, already worth 179, into something epic. Instead, by the end of the fourth over of the day, when Hussain drove a low catch to mid-off for 105, the match was effectively over. Crawley and Ealham lasted for more than an hour together before Ealham was caught. Crawley followed, bowled for 72, and the last five wickets fell in little more than seven overs for 16 runs.

Scoreboard

First inninge VIA Butcher e Blewitt b Reiffel A Atherton c Gillespie b McGroth J Stewart o Blewitt b Grilespie Hussain o Taylor b McGrath N Hussain e Taylor b McGrath
D W Headley e S R Waugh b Gilliospie
G P Thorpe b Gillespie
J P Crawley e Blewatt b Gillespie
M A Ealtharn not out
R D B Crott e Ponting b Gillespie
D Gerath b Gillaspie Extras (b4, lb4, w1, nb12

Total (59.4 overs)

Bowling: McGrath 22-5-67-2, Reliel 20-4-41-1, Gitesple 13 4-1-37-7; Blewell 3-0-17-0, Warne 1-0-2-0.

M.A. Taylor o Stewart & Growth M T G Elliott b Gough G S Blowell c Stewart b Gough M.E. Wanghild & b.Houdley S.R. Waughild Crimiley b.Houdley R.T. Ponting of Eatharn h.Gough I A Healy & Ealthann S K Warno c The politi Ealthann P R Reiffel not out N Gilespie b Georgia GID McGrath not out Extras (b?), lb10, nb35)

Total (for 9 dec. 123 overs) Fall of wickets: 0, 16, 43, 50, 318, 382, 383, 444, 461,

roft 18-1 40-0, Butcher 2-0-14-0

Bowling: Gough 36-5-149-5; Hearday 25-2-125-2, Smith 23-2-80 0, Earnam 19-3-56-2;

M.A. Butcherk, Flealy h McGrath J Stowart & Rollel Hussain e Greepe b Warne P Thorpe of ME Wangist is less to A Earlignur IAE Wough I, Beat-Willes To But Lines D B Croft o Health to Restlet Sough c M E Wangh b Gilleso -

Total (91. Lovers) Fall of wickets: 23, 28, 57, 86, 221, 252, 256, 263, 264

Bowling: McGrath 22-5-80-2; Reiffel 21.1-2-49-5, Gillespie 23-8-05-2, Warne 21-6-53-1, SiR Waugh 4-1-11-0

Umpires: MJ Kitchen and CJ Mitchley Australia won by an innings and 61 runs

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

Shearer is sidelined

ITH just over a week to go before the start of the new football season, Newcastle United were plunged into crists when \$25 million striker Alan Shearer was told he will be out of games for months following gery for an ankle injury he susaed in the Umbro International urnament at Goodison Park last

The operation was the England caplain's third in less than a year since he joined the North-east club ast August. Newcastle manager Kenny Dalgli ish said: "Alan had operation to repair torn ligaments He will be out for a wee while, months rather than weeks."

Newcastle also failed in a last-Alch attempt to delay the \$10 milhand, but . . . (3) not so mental and lean transfer of their other main think I can best this. (5) So do!

sk partner if he has a minor sut. (3)

to oblige. (7) One more for the rost.

to oblige. (7) One more for the rost.

to oblige. (8) So do!

striker, Les Ferdinand, to Tottenham Hotspur. He agreed personal
terms with the London club's chairman Alm C. an Alan Sugar on Sunday evening. The news rounded off a miser-Seven clubs could not be a like week for Newcastle, who were defeated, so Germany score lable week for Newcastle, who were 1,440 to go with the 590 for place play off in the sunday's third-

to other clubs for no fee.

essional Footballers' Association reached a compromise which brings the English game in line with European laws brought about by the Bosman ruling, which has been responsible for an influx of foreign players into the Premiership. Foot-ball League clubs want to postpone such an arrangement for another

first floodlight cricket match in a era and building team spirit in the major British competition was lead-up to the five-match one-day se played at Edgbaston in midweek - ries against South Africa starting a Sunday League tie played on later this month. Wednesday. With minutes to go to midnight, Warwickshire (224 for 4) beat Somserset by 35 runs.

beaming down from five 140ft high nobile cranes, cost \$80,000. The club are now planning to install their own lights, and it looks certain that there will be more of the same in the future.

Sri Lanka beat India by eight wickets to win the Asia Cup in Colombo. Chasing a target of 240 off 50 overs, the home side were given an ideal start by openers Sanath Jayasuriya (63) and Marvan Atapattu (84 not out), plundering 137 runs off 18.1 overs.

like world champions and gave us no chance," said the Indian captain

long-running battle with the British Athletic Federation when she was given the go-ahead in the Appeal Court to sue the federation for more than \$1.5 million for wrongly banning her for alleged drug abuse. The 31-year-old runner won the first round in the High Court a year ago when Mr Justice Popplewell refused to block her damages bid. Modahl

↑ RECORD 131 nations will comsaid. First-time entrants include Honduras, Netherlands Antilles, St Lucia and the US Virgin Islands.

EN HOGAN died at his home in Forth Worth, Texas, after a lengthy illness. He was 84. Hogan was one of four golfers to have com-

Rugby Union

All Blacks have all the answers

Robert Galvin in Melbourne

THE ALL BLACKS secured the Bledisloe Cup and placed a hand on the Tri-Nations championship when they cruised to a 33-18 victory over Australia in front of a huge crowd at the Melbourne Cricket Ground.

A record 90, 119 spectators, including 15,000 travelling New Zealanders, saw the All Blacks dominate all areas of the game and then, with the match as good

as won, coast to the final whistle. "We showed tremendous resolve," said their coach John Hurt, who had complained beforehand about his players' heavy travel schedule and lack of recovery time.

"It was the biggest challenge for an All Black side in many years - to win in Johannesburg and then in Melbourne. It was just sensational."

The result was hardly in doubt once Bunce, who scored two tries in the previous Saturday's 35-32 win against the Springboks, crossed the line after 10 minutes. The veteran centre was put through after Wallabies No 8 Brial missed a tackle on flanker Randell.

Virtually from the restart, Brial was at fault again, losing possession and allowing the Al Blacks scrum-hulf Marshall to send a long kick towards Australia's line, where Wilson out-paced Manu to score.

Spencer converted both and landed three first-half penalties while his opposite number, the Australian full-back Burke, replied with two penalties to see his side trailing 23-6 at the

The match was played in an intense atmosphere but the home supporters were again silenced after the turn-round vben Cullen crossed for his 15th try in 16 Tests and Spencer, who also kicked

another penalty, converted. The tiring New Zealanders then surrendered two late tries with the game well beyond Australia's reach. The outstanding scrum-half Gregan crossed the line for the first and Burke converted before Little salvaged some respectability with another

It was New Zealand's second win in the best-of-three Bledisloe Cup series: the first, by 30-13, came in Christchurch last nonth. It was also their sixth successive victory against Australia since 1994.

The All Blacks captain Fitzpatrick, whose knee injury had made him a fitness doubt only hours before kick-off, was the catalyst this time, "We've had a difficult couple of weeks and to win the cup is a thrill," he sald later.

With the return fixtures against the Springboks and Australia to come, New Zealand are well placed to maintain their domination of the southern hemisphere game. "I think this team is starting to extend its boundaries in terms of performance," Hart added.

Quick crossword no. 377

viewpoints (12)

policeman (8)

15 Concealed (6)

18 Listed facts (4)

12 French

4 2 2 4

- Ancient Greek citadel (9) 8 Alternative -additional (5)
- 10 Tragedy (8) 11 The Indiao plant (4)

9 Rice dish (7)

- 13 Dislike (6) 14 Sellor (6) 16 Yawn (4) 17 Cotton fabric,
- ribbed surface (8) 19 Give Ilfe to (7) 20 Happen again (5) 21 Take to pieces (9)
- Down Bitterness of feeling (8)
- 2 Very uncommon thing (6) 3 Troublesome insect (4) 4 Erica in Malfa
- (anag) one part of the world (5,7) 5 Metropolitan Police HQ (8,4) 6 Large piano (7,5)
- 7 Personal

Last week's solution

Bridge Zia Mahmood

ITALY, which dominated bridge during the sixties and seventies with the Squadra Azzura the Blue Team that included Belladonna, Forquet and Garozzo - may have finally found successors to those legends of the

Lorenzo Lauria and Alfredo Versace, Norberto Bocchi and Guido Duboin, Andrea Buratti and Massimo Lanzarotti won the European Championships for the second consecutive time last month. And, though they the world stage against the Americans, their victory was emphatic enough to suggest that the Bermuda Bowl may take up residence on the European side of the Atlantic when the World Championships are contested

One deal during the European Championships set a record that will never be equalled — for the least successful penalty double of all time. It also had the highest contract that the North-South pair at one table and the East-West pair at the other were prepared to attempt of their own volition. Love all, dealer North:

▼AKQ103 ♠ A 10 9 7 **♣**KQ76 ◆AK10632 ♦QJ643

♦K852 ₹984 **◆**A95432

this was the bidding, with Germany East-West: West North 14 Pass 44 Dble

Pass

Pass

When Germany met Sweden,

The German West player put a lot of pressure on his opponents with his jump to four spades -though the North-South actions were reasonable enough, the penalty from four spades doubled would be 500 at best, wholly adequate compensation for the grand slam in clubs. In fact, it

one of which North discardeds liamond! So declarer was she set up his diamonds for one lost, and Germany recorded 590. At the other table, the bidde went like this: North West

was far worse than that, for Korb

began the defence with thre rounds of hearts. West ruffed an

drew trumps in four rounds, on

Dble Pass⁽³⁾ (1) Natural, therefore . . . (2) Intenstrong cue-bid, showing a three-sized in hand, but . . . (3) not so interpreted in

Seven clubs could not be 1,440 to go with the 590 is place 130 by Alax in Sunday's third-swing of 22 IMPs. At least the place play off in the Umbro tourna-Swedish West could console in ment at Goodison Park, having self that even if he had passed from spades, his side would four spades, his side would have lost points on the board have lost points on the boar

Football chiefs agreed in principle to let out-of-contract players aged 24 and over in England move

The Premier League and the Pro-

The experiment was immediately pronounced a phenomenal success the gate than they get from a season | been caught for a second time using | ments in one season.

Arjuna Ranatunga, the captain, then hit 62 off 67 balls. "They played

Warwickshire, is to join the coach-WARWICKSHIRE made light ing staff for the England women's cricket team, to help motivate play-

> ANADA'S Ben Johnson, banned Ofor life by the International Am-

of County Championship matches | banned substances," a judge said is - about \$200,000; the hired lights, a court at Brampton, Ontario. OLYMPIC athlete Diane Modahl scored a second victory in her

was "delighted" with the verdict.

Dermot Reeve, former captain of | the International Tennis Federation

pleted the career Grand Slam, the winning of all four major champiateur Athletic Federation four years ons. He survived a car crash in 1949 The game's other statistics were: | ago after testing positive for drugs | in which he was almost killed, re-15,174 watched — at least three times the crowd Warwickshire would have expected on a fine Sunday, the club took more money at lifetime ban after an athlete has professional Grand Slam tourna-



. . .